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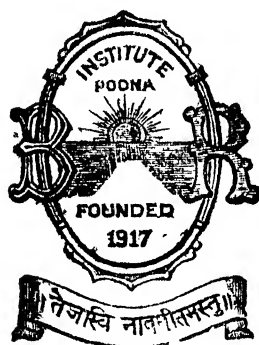
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1943**

EDITED BY

K. V. ABHYANKAR, M.A.

R. N. DANDEKAR, M.A., Ph.D.



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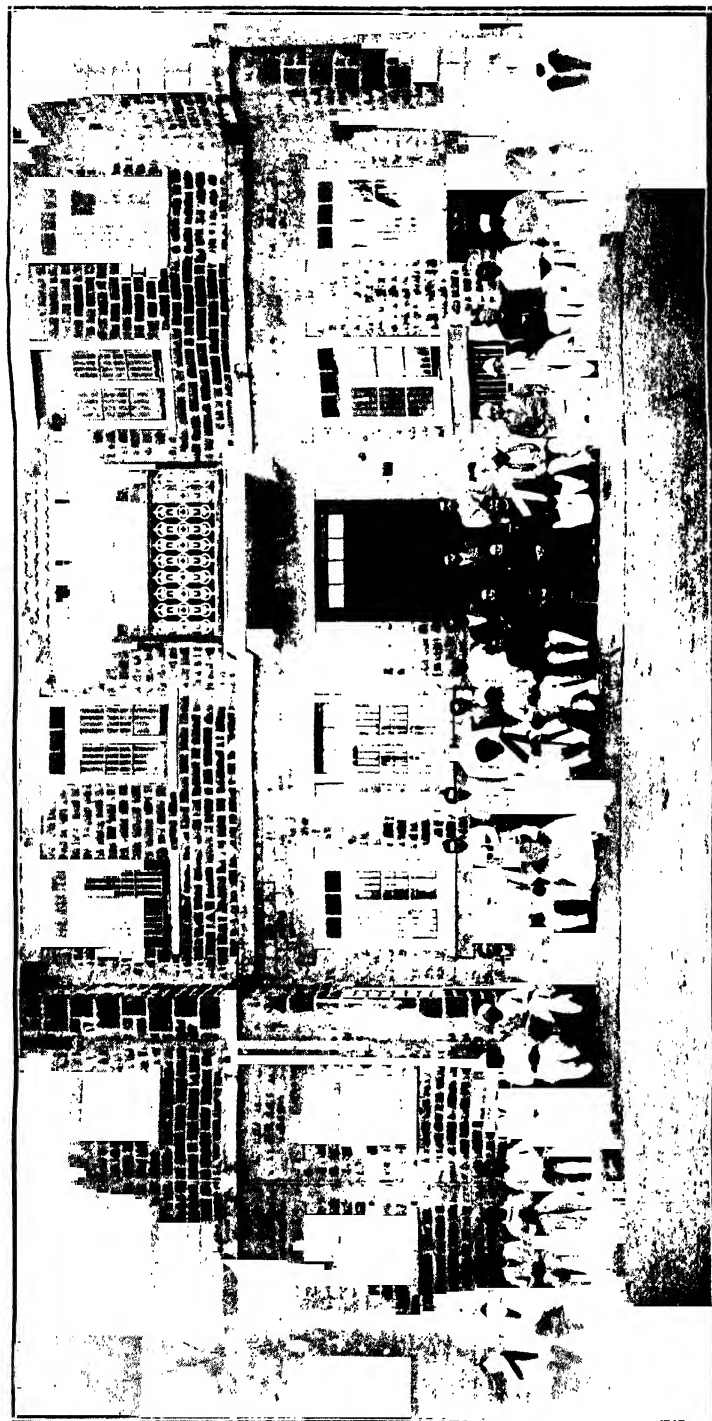


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Silver Jubilee Celebration
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
4th and 5th January 1943

॥ श्रीमद्भाण्डारकरप्राच्यविद्यासंशोधनमन्दिरराजतोत्सव-
समारम्भमङ्गलश्लोकाः ॥

सफलमनोरथभक्ता

करुणार्द्रापाङ्गलोलदृग्युक्ता ।

सृष्टिस्थितिलयशक्ता

पालितरिक्ता विभाति विधिसक्ता ॥ १

विख्यातस्य रसोदयेहितधियः सूर्याहितस्वोन्नतेः

सत्यायुक्तयशोदयावृततनोगोपालसूनोः प्रभोः ।

भारत्युज्ज्वलरामकृष्णसुधियः संशोधसन्मन्दिरे

कौमाराभ्युदये पदं वितनुते मोदस्य नः सांप्रतम् ॥ २

यत्रोदञ्चदमन्दवाङ्मयसदो वैपश्चितं भ्राजते

सत्सूक्तंकरसादरेक्षणबरीवृंहन्महाभारतम् ।

तद्रोचिष्णवनावमेयगुणभृद्राजसुधीमानितं

बाभातु प्रथमाननैजयशसाब्दे पञ्चविंशेऽधुना ॥ ३

प्राज्यं पूज्यपदं दधातु सुचिरं सूच्यप्रधीभूषणैर्

विद्वद्भिश्च तथा महीपनिवहैरद्यापि संसेव्यताम् ।

संसक्तं दुरवापपुस्तकचयैराशोभतां प्राक्तनैर्

धत्तां भूवलये शुभानि सततं नन्दत्विदं मन्दिरम् ॥ ४

आविर्भूतगुणे ततो रघुरुचिस्त्रिष्टे गृहे वैबुधे

धर्माद्यन्वितवासुदेवभरिते श्रीपादलाभोज्ज्वले ।

सर्वत्र प्रथितेऽथ विष्णुलसिते लेखादिदीप्ते पुना

रामालङ्कृतमेदुरप्रमदगे भूयाच्छुभं नः सदा ॥ ५

विचित्ररचनाकलाकृतमुखो भवानप्यमी

बुधाश्च कृतलक्षणा नृपतयोऽत्र भव्यैषिणः ।

कलागृहमिदं वसुप्रचयपूरणैर्बिभ्रतां

चकास्तु कुशलोदितं चिरतरं समैर्नैतृभिः ॥ ६

य एष चतुराननोऽप्यविरतं सिषेवे गिरं

सुपुण्यजनतोत्सुकोऽलसदबातलक्ष्मीरपि ।

द्विजेशवरशेखरोऽप्यपचिचाय दक्षं निजं

चिरादिह रराज स प्रथितरामकृष्णोऽद्भुतः ॥ ७

भुजगबन्धः ।

भूयात् शं सद्भवये सततमिह वहत्ख्यातिपूरप्रचित्रे

विद्यावित्सन्महीक्षिलसदसमसमे भूतिसत्तां प्रयाति ।

अब्देऽस्मिन् चित्रभानौ विलसति सदनप्रेक्षिणां वर्ण्यभूम्नां

तत्त्वप्रख्यारतेऽब्दे मह इह भविता भाग्यमग्रे न एयात् ॥ ८

॥ पद्मबन्धः ॥

राधराकापराभाशु शुभाराध्या शिवाजरा ।

राजवाक् पुष्करारोहा हारोरा मधुराधरा ॥ ९

पुण्ये प्राच्यकलाशोधधिष्ण्ये रूप्यमहे मुदा ।

सुश्लोकान्स्वयमाचष्टेऽनन्तनारायणः कृती ॥ १०

क. वे. अनन्तनारायणशास्त्री

प्राच्यविद्यासंशोधनमन्दिरम्, पुणे ४



His Excellency Sir Roger Lumley,

G. C. I. E., D. L.,

Governor of Bombay

President, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute



Raja Shrimant Raghunathrao Shankarrao *alias* Babasaheb
Pandit Panj Sachiv,

BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, POONA

SILVER JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS

4th and 5th of January 1943

The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute completed the twenty-fifth year of its services to Oriental learning on the 6th of July 1942. The authorities of the Institute had already decided to celebrate its Silver Jubilee, some time during the year 1942, in a manner befitting the honoured name of Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar and the great reputation achieved by the Institute, for its work, during a quarter of a century. Accordingly they issued their first appeal in this regard as early as 25th November 1941 (see appendix I). Appeal was also issued to Oriental scholars in India and outside for contributions for the two Volumes, which it was proposed to publish, to commemorate the Silver Jubilee. The Silver Jubilee of the Institute should have been celebrated, properly speaking, on its 25th anniversary-day, namely, 6th July 1942. Owing to the disturbed national and international situation, however, it was considered advisable to postpone the celebrations to a later date. After due deliberations, the Executive Board of the Institute finally fixed the 4th and 5th of January 1943 as the dates for the celebrations.

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विचित्ररचनाकलाकृतमुखो भवानप्यमी

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कलागृहमिदं वसुप्रचयपूरणैर्विभ्रतां

चकास्तु कुशलोदितं चिरतरं समैर्नैतृभिः ॥ ६

य एष चतुराननोऽप्यविरतं सिषेवे गिरं

सुपुण्यजनतोत्सुकोऽलसदवातलक्ष्मीरपि ।

द्विजेशवरशेखरोऽप्यपचिचाय दक्षं निजं

चिरादिह रराज स प्रथितरामकृष्णोऽद्भुतः ॥ ७

भुजगबन्धः ।

भूयात् शं सद्भव्ये सततमिह बहत्ख्यातिपूरप्रचित्रे

विद्यावित्सन्महीक्षिलसदसमसभे भूतिसत्तां प्रयाति ।

अब्देऽस्मिन् चित्रभानौ विलसति सदनप्रेक्षिणां वर्ण्यभूम्नां

तत्त्वप्रख्यारतेऽब्दे मह इह भविता भाग्यमग्रे न एयात् ॥ ८

॥ पद्मबन्धः ॥

राधराकापराभाशु शुभाराध्या शिवाजरा ।

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पुण्ये प्राच्यकलाशोधधिष्ये रूप्यमहे मुदा ।

सुश्लोकान्स्वयमाचष्टेऽनन्तनारायणः कृती ॥ १०

क. वे. अनन्तनारायणशास्त्री

प्राच्यविद्यासंशोधनमन्दिरम्, पुणे ४

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the general problems connected with it. The last lecture in the Series, on "The Historical Setting of the Bhagavadgītā", was delivered by him on the 26th February 1943 Mr. J. S. Karandikar presiding.

The 4th of January 1943 will be regarded a red-letter day in the annals of the B. O. R. I. Since early morning, members of the Institute and delegates specially deputed for the Silver Jubilee celebrations by several academic institutions in India were gathering in large numbers on the grounds of the Institute. Sweet and auspicious notes of *Sanai* mingled with the stately sound of the *Chaughada*. Punctually at 8-30 A.M., to the accompaniment of the sacred hymns of the Veda chanted by learned Brāhmaṇas, Principal V. K. Rajvade, who was one of the Vice-presidents of the first Working Committee of the Institute, garlanded the bust of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and then proceeded to the open grounds behind the main building of the Institute. There, in the refreshing sunshine of the early January morning, he planted, in the presence of an interested gathering, a *Vaṭa* tree in commemoration of the completion of the twenty-fifth year in the career of the Institute. Altogether it was an ennobling experience! After the distribution of *Prasāda*, the morning programme terminated in an atmosphere of great enthusiasm and expectation.

In the afternoon, the delegates paid a visit to the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, where they were entertained to tea by the Director, Dr. S. M. Katre, and his colleagues. On behalf of the delegates, Dr. C. Kunhan Raja thanked the Director for the reception.

Since 4-30 in the evening, streams of men and women, young and old, were seen hurrying in the direction of the Institute to attend the main function of the Silver Jubilee programme. A spacious and very tastefully decorated *Maṇḍapa* was erected on the grounds of the Institute behind the main building. Delegates from several academic bodies, members of the Institute, invited guests—all numbering over 2000—were received at the gate by the Secretary and the members of the Institute's staff. Never, in recent years, had such a huge gathering of the *élite* assembled in Poona. At 6 P. M., Shrimant Rajasaheb of Bhore,

the President-elect, and Sir S. Radhakrishnan, the Chief Guest, of the Jubilee, arrived at the *Maṇḍapa* and were received by Shrimant Rajasaheb of Aundh and his colleagues on the Regulating Council of the Institute.

In proposing Shrimant Rajasaheb of Bhore to the chair, Mr. N. C. Kelkar dwelt at length on the happy combination, seen on that occasion, of three great cultural factors, viz. those represented by the Institute, the Chief Guest, and the President-elect (see appendix II). Principal R. D. Karmarkar seconded the proposal.

After the President and the Chief Guest had taken their seats on the dais, Shrimant Raja of Aundh read his welcome-speech, wherein he gave a general review of the manifold activities of the Institute, during the last quarter of a century, which have evoked unanimous approbation on the part of scholars all over the world. He thanked the patrons of the Institute for their continued financial help and briefly outlined the future programme of work undertaken by the Institute (see appendix III). In his Presidential speech, Shrimant Rajasaheb of Bhore referred to the universal appreciation which the work of the Institute--particularly the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata*--has received and appealed to his brother-princes and other rich patrons to promote the activities of the Institute by means of generous grants (see appendix IV).

Messages of greetings and good wishes on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the Institute were then read by the following gentlemen on behalf of the learned bodies which they represented :

Dr. C. Kunhan Raja	Madras University; Adyar Library; Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner.
Dr. Ludwik Sternbach	Polish Academy of Learning.
Dr. Manilal Patel	Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan ; Gujarathi Sahitya Parishad.
Prof. P. V. Ramanujaswami	Shri Venkateshvara Oriental Research Institute, Tirupati.
Rao Bahadur P. C. Divanji	Gujarat Research Society.
Prof. V. B. Naik	Kannada Sahitya Parishad.

K. A. Padhye, Esq.	The Buddha Society.
Prin. R. D. Karmarkar	University of Bombay.
Prof. H. L. Auluck	Vishveshvarananda Vedic Research Institute, Lahore.
B. R. Kulkarni, Esq.	Rajavade Samshodhan Mandir, Dhulia

Among other delegates present on the occasion were :—

Diwan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri	P. E. N.; Prince of Wales Museum; B. B. R. A. S., K. R. Kama Oriental Institute, Bombay.
S. N. Moos, Esq.	Government of Bombay.
Dr. D. K. Karve	Indian Women's University.
Q. M. Moneer, Esq.	Archaeological Department of the Government of India.
Dr. S. M. Katre	Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute.
Rev. Father Heras Prof. S. R. Sharma A. P. Karmarkar, Esq. L. B. Keny, Esq. Mr. Coelho	} Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay.
Prof. R. V. Pathak	
C. G. Karve, Esq.	
	Gujarat Vernacular Society.
	Bharat Itihasa Samashodhak Mandal, Poona.
Prof. V. M. Joshi	Maharashtra Sahitya Parishad.
J. S. Karandikar, Esq.	Vedashastrottejaka Sabha, Poona.
G. K. Deshmukh, Esq.	Phaltan State.
C. G. Kashikar, Esq.	Vaidika Samshodhan Mandal, Poona.

Numerous other messages were received from scholars and patrons of the Institute, who could not attend the function, and from learned bodies, who could not depute any delegates. The Honorary Secretary, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, read in full the following message received from H. E. Sir Roger Lumley, the Governor of Bombay and the President of the Institute, and it was received with enthusiastic cheers by the audience.

Government House, Bombay

Since its foundation more than a quarter of a century ago, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute has rendered great service to the cause of Oriental learning and deeply enriched the tradition of Indian scholarship. As President of the Institute, I am proud of the noteworthy contributions which have been made to the study of India's literary heritage under its auspices, and I am glad of the occasion of its Silver Jubilee to congratulate it upon the brilliant achievements in Indian classical scholarship which it has fostered during the past 25 years, I give my best wishes to the Institute for the future and I shall look forward in particular to the day when its great work for the Mahābhārata has been successfully completed.

Roger Lumley

1st January 1943

Governor of Bombay

The Secretary then also announced the names of other persons and institutions who had sent messages of greetings. Prominent among them were the following :

Sir Leslie Wilson ; Sir Maurice Gwyer ; Vice Chancellors of Annamalai, Punjab, Nagpur, Andhra, Patna, Aligarh, Allahabad, Travancore, Benaras, Delhi Universities ; U. P. Historical Society ; Sind Historical Society, P. E. N., Dr. V. S. Agrawalla, Kannada Research Institute ; Dacca Museum ; Dr. M. H. Krishna ; Dr. S. K. Chatterji ; Iran League ; Scindia Oriental Institute ; Mm. Dr. G. H. Ojha ; Cheena Bhavan ; Nagari Pracharini Sabha ; Varendra Research Society ; Vishva Bharati ; Greater India Society ; Bombay Natural History Society ; Archæological Departments of Jodhpur and Baroda ; Bihar and Orissa Research Society ; International Academy of Indian Culture ; K. R. Cama Oriental Institute ; Mr. John Sargent ; Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore ; Dr. R. Shamsastry. *

* Messages of congratulations and good wishes were recently received by the Secretary from the American Oriental Society (dated 5th Feb. 1943), Yale University (dated 6th Feb. 1943) and University of London (dated 8th March 1943).

After the formal communication of the messages of greetings and good wishes, the Honorary Secretary read the following resolution passed by the Institute :

“ Resolved that the Honorary Membership of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute be conferred on the following eminent scholars on the occasion of the forthcoming Silver Jubilee :—

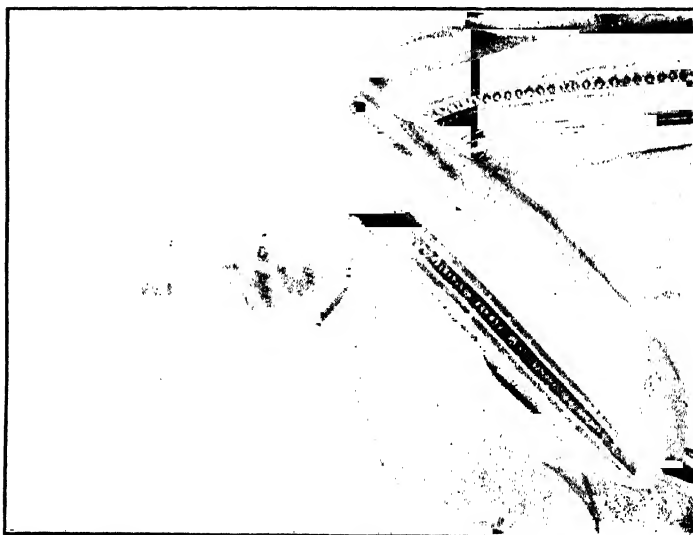
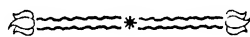
- 1 Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Kt., M.A., D.Litt., LL.D., F.B.A., who, by his profound and many-sided studies in Indian Philosophy and Culture and by his gift of eloquence, has given a new status to Indian civilization and carried its mystic message to the peoples of the civilized world.
- 2 Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Gaurishankar H. Ojha, who has combined in all his life-long historical research the profundity of ancient Indian scholarship and the critical acumen of modern Orientalists, thus endearing himself to the scholar and layman alike.
- 3 Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. S. Kuppaswamy Shastri, who, by his critical editions of abstruse Sanskrit texts and the monumental catalogue of South Indian Manuscripts, has facilitated the study of these manuscripts and given a new stimulus to Sanskrit learning.
- 4 Prof. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B., who, by his valuable researches in Indian history and archaeology, has maintained the scholarly traditions of his revered father Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar.
- 5 Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M., who, by his life-long and profound study of Hindu Dharmaśāstra and other branches of Sanskrit learning, has proved a veritable beacon light to the younger generation of scholars.
- 6 Prof. M. Hiriyanna, M.A., who, by his deep study of Indian philosophical texts and fascinating presentation of their tenets, has attracted even laymen to the treasure-house of Indian philosophy.
- 7 Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., who has rendered lasting service to the cause of Indian culture and Buddhistic



Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Kt., LL. D., F. B. A.



Rao Bahadur Dr. S. K. Belvalkar



Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi,

B. A.,

Rajasaheb of Aundh

studies by his own scholarly publications and who has promoted allied scholarly efforts by his generous patronage.

- 8 Prof. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, who has enhanced the prestige of Indian scholarship by his numerous and original scientific contributions to the study of Indian linguistics”.

Amidst cheers, the Raja of Bhore announced the formal election of these gentlemen to the Honorary Membership of the Institute.

Again amidst cheers the Honorary Secretary announced the following donations received on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee :

Raja of Bhore	Rs. 2500/- for the foundation of a Silver Jubilee Research Fellowship at the Institute
H. H. Maharaja of Dhore	Rs. 5000/- (Mahābhārata Fund)
Shrimant Kanayalal Bhandari, Indore	Rs. 2000/- („ „)
H. H. Rajasahab of Sangli	Rs. 1000/- („ „)
H. H. Maharani Indira- baisahab Holkar, Indore	Rs. 500/- („ „)
Kesari-Maratha Trust	Rs. 500/- („ „)
M. R. Joshi	Rs. 500/- („ „)
H. E. H. The Nizam's Government	Rs. 500/- (Silver Jubilee Fund)
Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay	Rs. 500/- („ „ „)
H. H. Maharaja of Baroda	Rs. 250/- („ „ „)
H. H. Maharaja of Dewas (Junior)	Rs. 250/- („ „ „)
Shrimant Rajasahab of Phaltan	Rs. 100/- („ „ „)

He further announced that fifteen new Life-members were enrolled on the occasion and that contributions towards the Silver Jubilee fund from individual members amounted to about Rs. 2000.

Then followed the formal publication of the two Volumes

which were prepared to commemorate the Silver Jubilee of the Institute. Dr. R. N. Dandekar, the Editor of the Volumes, while requesting Sir S. Radhakrishnan to formally announce the publication, read the following statement :

"About the end of the year 1941, the authorities of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute decided to issue the twenty-third Volume of the "Annals" (for 1942) as a Special Jubilee Number on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Institute and entrusted the work of editing it to me. Accordingly, in November 1941, I issued an appeal to several Indologists, in India and outside, inviting their contributions for the Silver Jubilee Volume. The willing response which I then received from all quarters was an excellent indication of the high regard in which the memory of Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar and the work of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute are held in the world of Oriental scholars. I take this opportunity of expressing on behalf of the Institute my heart-felt gratitude to all those friends whose kind collaboration has made it possible for us to bring out the present Volume, which, as will be seen from the contents, is characterised by variety of subjects and originality of treatment.

The Silver Jubilee Volume of the "Annals" which covers nearly 700 pages includes seventy research papers contributed by Oriental scholars in India and outside. A broad classification of the contents of the Volume is as follows :

Subject	Serial numbers of articles
Veda and Avesta :	5, 17, 34, 50, 52, 62, 68.
Epics and Purāṇas :	2, 4, 19, 32, 46, 59, 60, 65.
Classical and Modern Literature :	3, 20, 41, 47, 57, 69.
Religion & Philosophy :	7, 11, 14, 22, 29, 39, 40, 42, 44, 48, 51, 66.
Buddhism and Jainism :	6, 10, 16, 64.
History, Archaeology, Epigraphy etc. :	8, 12, 23, 24, 26, 30, 31, 33, 35, 36, 43, 49, 53, 54, 55, 56, 63, 70.
Linguistics :	9, 15, 28, 45, 61, 67.

Sociology :	13, 18, 25, 37, 38, 58.
Technical Sciences :	1, 27.
Study of Manuscripts :	21.

The second Volume called "Progress of Indic Studies" is of peculiar interest. The last twenty-five years may adequately be regarded as the period of renaissance in the history of Indological Studies. A general resurgence of the spirit of nationalism became evident in India in the first decade of this century. It was not merely a political movement; indeed it proved to be a veritable source of inspiration for the revival of the whole cultural life of this country on national basis. Indians began to take special interest in the ancient history and culture of their motherland. Work of first rate importance was - and is being produced since then - in this branch of learning.

The usefulness of a retrospect of that work, to a student of the subject, is quite patent. Apart from being a source of inspiration it would show where we actually stand today and what we have still to achieve.

I considered the Silver Jubilee of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute as the most suitable occasion to undertake a survey of the progress made in Indic Studies, in India and outside, during the last twenty-five years. Accordingly I requested several scholars to co-operate with me and I take this opportunity of expressing my sincere thanks to all of them for their willing response. Without their kind collaboration this work would have been impossible.

The "Progress of Indic Studies" contains the following articles.

Twenty-five Years of Vedic Studies	R. N. Dandekar, M.A., Ph.D.
A Survey of Work done, in India and outside during the last twenty-five years, in the field of Iranian Studies	J. M. Unvala, Ph.D.
Twenty-five Years of Epic and Puranic Studies	A. D. Pusalker, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.
A brief Sketch of Prākṛit Studies	A. M. Ghatage, M.A., Ph.D.

A brief Survey of the Work done in the field of Classical Sanskrit Literature during the last twenty-five Years	Late Dr. Har Dutt Sharma, M.A., Ph.D.
Pre-Vedic Times to Vijayanagara : A Survey of 25 Years' Work in Ancient Indian History and Archæology	H. D. Sankalia, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.
Progress of South Indian Archæology and Epigraphy during the past 25 Years	R. S. Panchamukhi, M.A.
Progress of Greater Indian Research during the last twenty-five Years (1917-1942)	U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D.
Linguistics in India (1917-1942)	Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M.A., D.Litt.
A Survey of Research in Indian Sociology in relation to Hindu <i>Dharma-Śāstras</i> (1917-1942)	Pandharinath Valavalkar, LL.B., Ph.D.
Indian Philosophy : A Survey (1917-1942)	P. T. Raju, M.A., Ph.D.
Study of Manuscripts	Chintaharan Chakravarti, M.A.

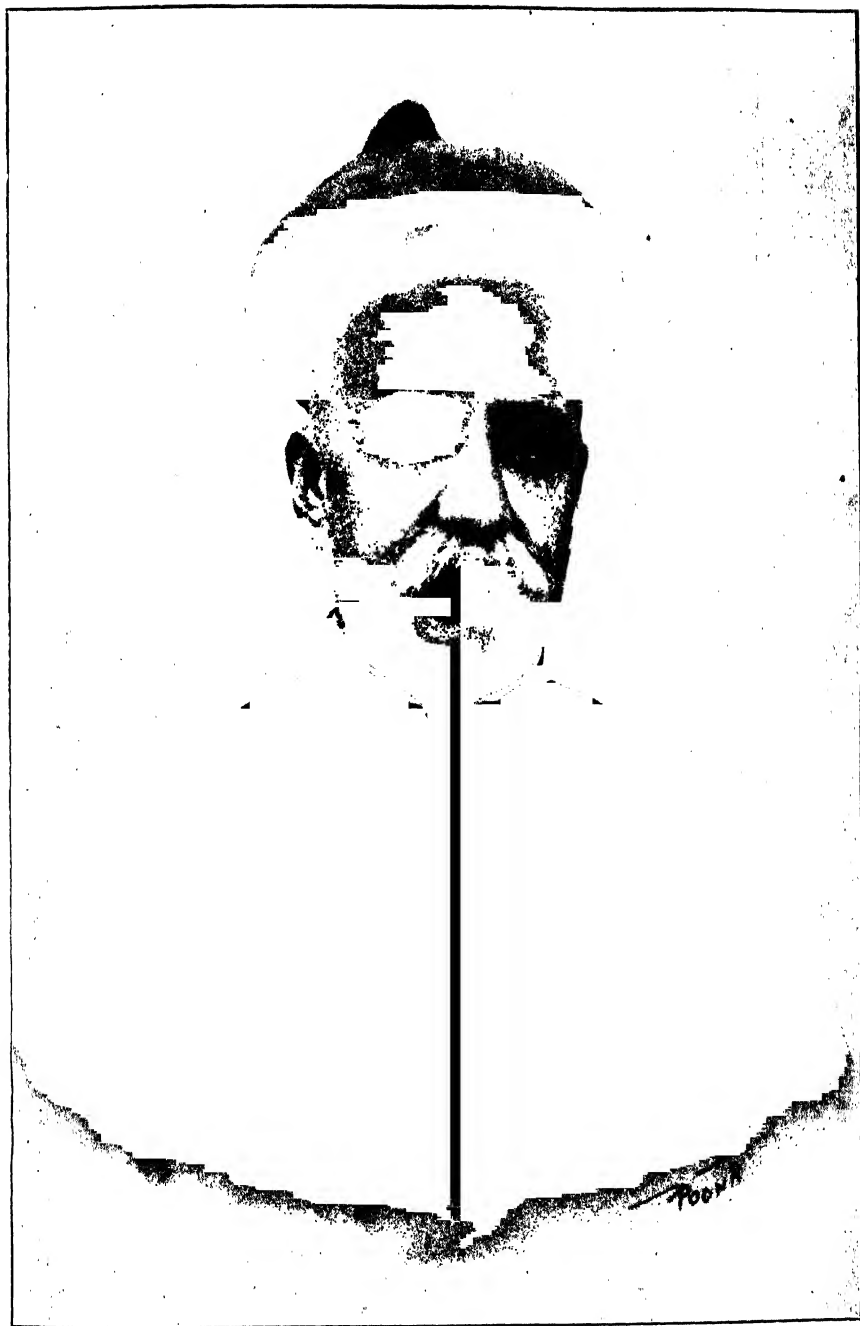
I am only sorry that owing to unavoidable circumstances the article on "Twenty-five Years of Islamic Studies" undertaken by Dr. S. M. H. Nainar remained uncompleted and could not be included in the Volume.

In my capacity as the Editor of these two Volumes, I now present them to the world of scholars."

While announcing the formal publication of the Volumes, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, to whom advance copies were already presented, spoke of them in highly appreciative terms and characterised them as the most fitting memorial of the Institute's Silver Jubilee.

The Honorary Secretary then read the following resolution passed by the Institute.

"Resolved that on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee, Silver Jubilee Medals be awarded to the following gentlemen for their



Principal J. R. Gharpure



Mr. P. K. Gode



Dr. V. S. Sukthankar

devoted services to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute during the last twenty-five years :—

- 1 Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, B.A., the enlightened Rajasaheb of Aundh, who, by his selfless zeal and generous patronage, has promoted the welfare of the Institute in diverse ways since its very foundation, and who, by his initiation of and princely help towards the work of the Critical and Illustrated Edition of the Mahābhārata, has heralded a new era in the history of modern critical scholarship in this country.
- 2 Prin. J. R. Gharpure, B.A., LL.B., who has been closely associated with the working of this Institute since its foundation and who, by his energetic leadership, has instilled in all his co-workers a spirit of hope and confidence at critical junctures of the Institute's affairs.
- 3 Rao Bahadur Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D., who has played a prominent role not only in establishing the Institute but in guiding its footsteps from infancy to maturity with paternal solicitude, indefatigable industry and a rare spirit of optimism all his own.
- 4 Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, M.A., Ph.D., who, as the helmsman of the Institute's work of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, has steered clear of the Scylla and Charybdis of the problem of Mahābhārata text-criticism by the high standard of his scholarship, thus initiating a new epoch in Oriental studies and bringing international recognition and honour to the work of the Institute.
- 5 Mr. P. K. Gode, M.A., who, as Curator of the Institute, by exercising vigilant supervision and maintaining stern discipline, has done the Institute invaluable service in preserving intact the priceless collections of manuscripts entrusted to his care, and who, at the same time, through a rich harvest of learned papers on the most diverse subjects has established firm landmarks in the shifting sands of Indian chronology and thus helped to consolidate the reputation of this Institute for rigorous methodology and precise scholarship in the domain of the literary and cultural historiography of India."

While awarding the Silver Jubilee medals to these gentlemen, Sir S. Radhakrishnan said that, while so usefully serving the Institute, the recipients of the medals were, in a larger sense, promoting the cause of Indian learning and culture in general.

All these formal items over, a volley of enthusiastic cheers greeted Sir S. Radhakrishnan when he proceeded to address the huge gathering who were eagerly awaiting this main part of the function. In his usual eloquent style, the Chief Guest delivered his inspiring address, which was listened to by the audience with rapt attention (see "Annals" Vol. XXIV pp. 1-8). All people were so fully absorbed in his forceful and convincing words that no one even noticed that there was once a slight dislocation in the electric current, while the address was being delivered.

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks, proposed by Mr. B. S. Kamat, the senior Vice-President of the Institute, to the President of the Jubilee function, the Chief Guest, the delegates, the delegating bodies, the scholars and patrons, who had sent good wishes on the occasion, and the Public.

At night Shrimant Rajasaheb of Aundh gave a private exhibition of a film of his own "Himalayan Tour" for Sir S. Radhakrishnan and a few other friends.

Programme for the next day, 5th January 1943, was gone through by the delegates and members with unabated zeal. At 8-30 in the morning a group photograph of the delegates was taken together with Sir S. Radhakrishnan, the Rajasaheb of Bhore and the members of the Regulating Council of the Institute.

This was followed by a lecture by Prof. Dr. C. Kunhan Raja of the University of Madras. Dr. S. M. Katre proposed Sir S. Radhakrishnan to the chair and Dr. P. L. Vaidya seconded the proposal. The Chairman then introduced Dr. Raja to the audience and congratulated him on the very proper choice of the subject for the lecture. For over an hour, the lecturer spoke brilliantly to the very appreciative audience on "The Message of Naimishāranya" (see appendix V).

The subject of the lecture and its unique treatment by Dr. Raja elicited from Sir S. Radhakrishnan a few presidential

remarks, which again were a veritable treat from the point of view of contents as well as of style. On behalf of the Institute, Dr. V. S. Sukthankar proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer and the president.

After the lecture, on the invitation of Principal J. R. Gharpure, Sir S. Radhakrishnan and the other delegates paid a visit to the Law College, where S. Radhakrishnan addressed a few words to the students of the College.

At noon Shrimant Rajasaheb of Aundh gave a dinner to Sir S. Radhakrishnan, the delegates, the members and the guests.

The next item on the programme-card was "Informal Discussion of Indological Topics", which commenced at 3-30 in the afternoon and continued for over two hours. Rev. Father H. Heras of the Indian Historical Research Institute of Bombay presided. Several topics were mooted and ably discussed by scholars (see appendix VI). The discussions were highly interesting and instructive and it was regretted by many that, for want of time, more topics could not be taken up for discussion. In a brief but very suggestive speech, Father Haras wound up the deliberations. Dr. Manilal Patel proposed a vote of thanks to the president and all those who participated in the discussion.

In the evening, in the presence of a distinguished gathering, the Rajasaheb and Yuvarajasaheb of Bhor among them, the *Āraṇyaka-Parvan* of the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* was formally presented to the Rajasaheb of Aundh, the first patron of the project. On arrival, the Rajasaheb was received by the Honorary Secretary and other members of the Executive Board. The proceedings of the evening commenced with the recital of *Maṅgala-śloka*s in Sanskrit. The Secretary of the *Mahābhārata* Editorial Board, Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, made a brief statement about the progress made in the Critical Edition of the Epic undertaken by the Institute (see appendix VII). He then presented the *Āraṇyaka-Parvan* edited by himself to the Rajasaheb and announced the publication of a fascicle of the *Sabhā-Parvan* edited by Professor Edgerton of the Yale University. The Rajasaheb of Aundh, in his speech, made a fervent appeal to the

Princes and People of India to grant financial aid to the Institute and thus help the Editorial Board of the Mahābhārata to bring the national enterprise to successful completion at an early date.

In conclusion, Dr. R. N. Dandekar thanked all those who helped him to make the Silver Jubilee Celebration the grand success that it certainly was. He made a special reference to the ungrudging cooperation given to him by the Staff of the Institute as also to the wise and helpful counsel of his colleagues on the Silver Jubilee Committee, Drs. Belvalkar and Sukthankar.

The young grand-daughter of Sir R. P. Paranjpye, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Institute, then gave a delightful programme of dance-numbers, which was greatly admired by the large gathering that was present on the occasion. This was followed by the exhibition of a film relating to the Himalayan Tour of the Rajasaheb of Aundh and party. Before exhibiting the film, the Rajasaheb spoke a few words about "The Wealth of the Himalayas."

In an atmosphere of great enthusiasm and gratification, the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute thus came to a close—an occasion which will, for a long time to come, remain as a pleasant memory for all those who participated in it.

APPENDIX I
FIRST APPEAL
BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE,
POONA 4 (INDIA)
SILVER JUBILEE (1917-1942)

25 November 1941

Dear Sir,

The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute will be completing the 25th year of its services to Oriental learning on the 6th of July 1942. It is proposed to celebrate its Silver Jubilee in the course of the year 1942, in a manner befitting the honoured name of Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, in whose name the Institute was founded on 6th July, 1917.

The signal services rendered by the Institute in manifold ways to the cause of Oriental learning during the last twenty-five years are now too well-known to the world of Oriental Scholars to need mention. We may, however, recount here a few of them for your information in view of your interest in the resuscitation of our ancient heritage and culture.

The work of the Institute on the epoch-making Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, carried on with unabated zeal and energy, for the last 22 years, stands in the front rank and academic enterprises of the century, executed as it is by Indian Scholars with the help of national and international sympathy, recognition and support. When completed it will go down to posterity as a unique achievement of the Institute in the field of organised Oriental research. The credit of completing this gigantic literary project under the Editorship of Dr. V. S. Sukthankar must go as much to the Institute as to the several patrons of the scheme, including among others, the Imperial Government, the Provincial Governments, distinguished Rulers of Indian States and foreign institutions like the British Academy, etc. In this connection we must make a special mention of the princely donation of a lac of rupees made by the Rajasaheb of Aundh, but for whose magnanimous donation the Institute would never have commenced such onerous undertaking

costing no less than ten lacs of rupees. The Rajasaheb with his indomitable love of learning has in fact all along stood by this sacred project, inaugurated at the hands of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar on 1st April, 1919.

The second memorable activity of the Institute designed to give new impetus to Oriental Studies was the First Oriental Conference organised by the Institute in 1919. The wisdom and foresight of the organisers of this scheme are borne out by the permanent form taken by this activity in the shape of ten successive sessions of this Conference, of which the eleventh will be held shortly at Hyderabad (Deccan). The generation of new scholars of Indology, now working in different Provinces of India owes not a little to this activity inaugurated by the Institute. The personal contact of scholars in the field of research brought about by the successive sessions of the Oriental Conference has been extremely serviceable in promoting exchange of ideas and particularly in preventing duplication of effort on the part of individual scholars.

The third activity of the Institute is the publication of the volumes in the "Government Oriental Series" including its research Journal, namely, the *Annals*, which is now running its twenty-second volume. In this Series no less than eighteen independent works have been published by the Institute. Among these works, Prof. P. V. Kane's monumental *History of Dharmaśāstra* in two volumes, and Prof. H. D. Velankar's *Catalogus Catalogorum of Jain Manuscripts (Jinaratnakośa)*, now in the press, deserve special mention. Besides these works the Institute has published about twenty volumes by way of revision and reprint in the "Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series" since its transfer to the Institute in 1918. In addition to these two series the Institute has recently started its own series called the "Bhandarkar Oriental Series", in which two works have already been published.

The fourth activity of the Institute is the successful administration of the Government Manuscript Library containing about twenty-thousand manuscripts and the publication of the *Descriptive Catalogue* of these manuscripts, which is estimated to cost more than a lac of rupees. The total number of volumes in this catalogue is estimated to comprise about forty volumes,

out of which ten volumes have so far been published by the Institute, while press-copies of about twenty more volumes are ready for printing. The importance of such a descriptive catalogue of one of the finest collections of manuscripts in India, like the Government Manuscripts Library, will be easily recognised by all Oriental research workers.

Besides the Government Manuscripts Library the Institute has started the collection of manuscripts on its own account and this collection now comprises about 2000 manuscripts acquired by purchase and presentation. In addition to this manuscript collection, the Institute has built up steadily a library of rare printed books and journals on Indology numbering about 10,000, of which the collection of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar bequeathed to the Institute forms the nucleus.

Apart from these achievements in the field of research and publication, the Institute has been running its own Press in which the major portion of its printing work is being done for the last sixteen years.

Among amenities provided by the Institute to scholars visiting the Institute from different parts of India and outside, we should not fail to record in this brief survey of the Institute's activities the construction of a Guest House for scholars made possible by the munificent donation from the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad.

The foregoing brief sketch of some of the outstanding achievements of the Institute will acquaint you with the nature of the activities in which the Institute has been engaged for the last quarter of a century. The history of Oriental Learning reveals the fact that in ancient times all learning was patronized not only by kings and potentates, bankers and commercial magnates, but also by well-to-do persons in general. In modern times also this relation seems to have remained unaltered as all the activities of this Institute have been mainly supported by Governments and the well-to-do classes of society. It is with their help and sympathy that the Institute has made all its progress so far and it is only on the extension of this sympathy and support in future that the Institute can hope to continue its disinterested work for the promotion of Oriental Learning.

We take this opportunity, therefore, of approaching you with a request that you will be pleased to contribute your best towards the successful celebration of the Silver Jubilee of the Institute. The cost of celebrating this function is expected to be about Rs. 10,000/-, which would be utilized in the following manner :—

- (i) The celebration of the Jubilee by inviting all members of the Institute and other scholars to attend the function with a view to taking part in the proceedings of the Jubilee and by giving free accommodation to all the guests.
- (ii) Inviting delegates from learned bodies and representatives of Governments of Provinces and Rulers of Indian States to take part in the proceedings and giving free accommodation to the invited delegates.
- (iii) Arranging for a Special Conference of Orientalists present, in which symposia on some definite problems will be organised.
- (iv) Publication of a special volume of Oriental Studies by different scholars to commemorate the Silver Jubilee of the Institute.
- (v) Meeting all incidental expenses in connection with the foregoing items.

It is hoped that His Excellency Sir Roger Lumley, G.C.I.E., D.L., the Governor of Bombay, who is also the honoured President of the Institute, will be able to inaugurate the Silver Jubilee celebrations, which will be continued for about three days. A detailed programme of these celebrations will be sent to you later. In the meanwhile, we strongly hope that you will associate yourself with this memorable function in the history of this Institute by contributing liberally and also by giving us the pleasure of your company on this most auspicious occasion when many eminent scholars are likely to assemble at the Institute.

N. C. Kelkar
Chairman
Regulating Council

J. R. Gharpure
Chairman
Executive Board

R. N. Dandekar
Hon. Secretary

APPENDIX II

EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECH BY N. C. KELKAR, ESQ.

4th JANUARY 1943

“ We meet here today to celebrate the Jubilee of the “ Bhandarkar Institute”. And the occasion presents, in my opinion, a happy coincidence of three great cultural factors viz. the Institute, the Addressor of this evening, and the Chairman-elect. About the cultural value of the Institute itself I need not say much. For the Orientalists, the world over, now recognise that it is a unique Institute of its kind in India, being devoted to research work, specially in the Mahābhārata, carried on, on the most modern and scientific lines. And its organisers have a right to congratulate themselves, upon the steady continuous work they have put in, under somewhat arduous financial conditions, to vindicate and justify the great name of Dr. Bhandarkar, with which the Institute has been associated. That is cultural factor, number one.

“ Then as regards the great Pandit and scholar, who is going to give us the principal address in the Jubilee programme, I would say that he may be regarded as the most effective present day exponent of Indian Philosophy and Culture, not only in India, but even more so, abroad. The well-wishers of the Benares Hindu University, myself among them, were sincerely gratified when they came to know, that Sir Radhakrishnan had consented to take into *his* hands the leading strings, of that great cultural idealistic University, founded and still inspired by my revered friend Pandit Malaviya, whom I always like to describe as the most typical Hindu in India. That is cultural factor number two.

“ And now I turn to the cultural setting of the Rajasaheb of Bhore whom we are going to request, to take the Presidential Chair, on the present occasion. The Rajasaheb is the present representative of an old noble family, which has earned for itself an honourable place in the Maratha history. The founder of the family was a valiant soldier, a wise statesman and a trusted

councillor of the great Shivaji-Maharaj. He was one of the first eight Ministers, who formed the famous Council, called the अष्टप्रधानमंडळ, the formation of which, makes out the constructive genius of Shivaji, as a constitutional ruler. The अष्टप्रधानमंडळ were really the eight *pillars*, on whose strength the new and revived Hindvi Swarajya of Shivaji was established. Of course when I mention Hindvi Swarajya, I advert here only to its cultural aspect, as relevant to my present purpose. And I will ask you to imagine, what would have been the Cultural fate of Maharashtra, if that Hindvi Swarajya had not been successfully established ? ”

APPENDIX III

EXTRACTS FROM THE WELCOME ADDRESS BY SHRIMANT BALASAHEB PANT PRATINIDHI, B.A., RAJA OF AUNDH, CHAIRMAN OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE

4th JANUARY 1943

“ The idea of starting an Oriental Research Institute in the name of Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar took a tangible shape at meeting held at the Anandashram, Poona, on Tuesday the 6th of July 1915, Dr. Bhandarkar's 78th birthday. The working committee elected at this meeting, lost no time in formulating a scheme for the proposed Institute and working out its details with the co-operation of all its collaborators and sympathisers. As a result of this co-operation the committee was able to organize the preparation of a commemoration volume to be presented to Sir Ramkrishna on the 6th of July 1917 at the hands of His Excellency Lord Willingdon, the then Governor of Bombay. The ceremony of the inauguration of the Institute was also combined with the above function. The function was an unqualified success. His Excellency Lord Willingdon graciously consented to be the First President of the Institute, as His Excellency was convinced about the nobility of the objects and ideals underlying this unique enterprise. In the words of His Excellency “ the objects and ideals were such as to command the most sympathetic attention and appreciation of

any Government and indeed, of any person, whether his position be public or private, to whom the highest interests of India, its venerable past and its brilliant future, are objects of deep and warm solicitude". These words have proved prophetic in the history of the Institute in view of the continued sympathy and support of both the Government, and the public which the Institute has all along enjoyed during the last twenty-five years and which have furthered the objects and ideals with which the Institute started on its academic career. The General Body of the Institute has evinced its grateful appreciation of the continued Government sympathy and support to the Institute by the unanimous election of the Governors of this Presidency as its successive Presidents, during the last twenty-five years, His Excellency Sir Roger Lumley, being its present President. It would have been in the fitness of things that the Silver Jubilee of an institute inaugurated by a Governor of this Province in 1917 should have been inaugurated by the present Governor. In fact it was the ardent desire of myself and my committee that His Excellency Sir Roger Lumley would be pleased to accept our invitation to preside on this auspicious function. We regret however, that owing to some unavoidable reasons His Excellency is unable to attend this function in person. We have however all his blessings and good wishes for the successful conduct of the Jubilee celebrations.

" With the auspicious and enthusiastic start given to it by the Government and the public, the Institute was emboldened to initiate certain activities within a couple of years from its inception for furthering its aims and objects. These activities included—

- (1) The preparation of a Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, a work of epoch-making international importance which has proved beyond challenge the capacity of Indian scholars to undertake gigantic literary projects and execute them with the thoroughness of scientific method to the entire satisfaction of the world of scholars.
- (2) The First Oriental Conference organized by the Institute in 1919 was then hailed with delight by all lovers of

oriental learning. This activity initiated by the Institute has now become a permanent feature of scholarly life in India as will be seen from the successive ten conferences held at different places in India during the last twenty-three years.

- (3) The Research Journal of the Institute called the " Annals " was started by the Institute in 1920. The services of this journal to the cause of oriental research will be apparent by a mere glance at the learned contents of varied research matter enshrined within its twenty-three volumes including the special Jubilee Volume of 700 pages which is being published today.
- (4) The Publication Department of the Institute has brought out with the help of Government Publication grant during the last twenty-five years no less than twenty volumes, out of which the encyclopaedic History of Dharmasāstra by Mm. Prof. P. V. Kane and the Catalogus Catalogorum of Jain Manuscripts by Prof H. D. Velankar now nearing completion in the press are of outstanding significance. The Institute also manages the Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series and has recently started the B. O. Series.
- (5) The Government Manuscripts Library of about 20,000 rare and valuable manuscripts deposited at the Institute by the Government of Bombay in 1918 and so efficiently managed by the Institute without the loss of a single manuscript has proved a veritable source of attraction to research scholars all over the world. A Descriptive Catalogue of these manuscripts comprising about forty-five volumes is being prepared by the Institute and so far ten volumes of this catalogue have been published. Besides the Government Manuscripts Library the Institute possesses about 2,500 manuscripts of its own.
- (6) The collection of rare printed books and journals bequeathed to the Institute by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar formed a valuable nucleus for the Institute's library

of printed books which now comprises no less than ten-thousand rare books and journals on Indology.

- (7) The press of the Institute started in 1925, has rendered valuable service to the publication department of the Institute during the last seventeen years, as it has been able to print off the major portion of Institute's printing work during this period.
- (8) The Research Department of the Institute trains students in the methods of scientific research as well as for M. A. and Ph. D. degrees. The Institute organises Extension Lectures on Indological subjects every term.
- (9) To add to this equipment so necessary for the progressive realization of the objects and ideals of the Institute, the Institute now owns a Guest House for scholars called the Nizam's Guest-House through the munificence of the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad.

"Ladies and Gentlemen, my purpose in acquainting you with some of the salient features of the Institute's progressive activities during the last quarter of a century, is not merely that of a chronicler but that of an ardent and active well-wisher of the Institute who is as much interested in its brilliant past as in its future. Many of the sympathisers of the Institute to whose selfless zeal, devotion and labour the Institute owes so much, are now no more; but their memory is still ever green in our minds reminding us of the duties that lie ahead of us for the furtherance of the objects and ideals of the Institute with a view to adding to its present glory and academic achievements in the years to come. I look forward to the younger generation of intellectuals in this country to take more interest in the activities of the Institute and shape its future destiny in a manner worthy of the name of the Greatest Orientalist in whose honour it is founded. I need hardly add that the future of the Institute depends as much on scholarly effort as on its financial stability which is necessary for the successful completion of the present projects of the Institute and an increased expansion of its scope

and activities during the next twenty-five years. I feel confident, however, that with public enthusiasm, patriotic effort and the sympathies and good-will of the sister institutions, representatives of some of which I now see before me, it may not be difficult for the future authorities of this Institute to lead it to new paths of glory and make it win fresh laurels in the fields of research still untrodden."

APPENDIX IV

EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECH DELIVERED BY SHRIMANT RAJA SAHEB OF BHOR

4th JANUARY 1943

"Rajasaheb, Sir Radhakrishnan, Ladies and Gentlemen,

His Excellency Sir Roger Lumley, the popular Governor of Bombay, was to preside over this function but on account of unavoidable circumstances, His Excellency could not come today. We all feel and feel so keenly the absence of His Excellency particularly on an occasion like this.

"I now turn to the good and enduring work done by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute which has completed its twenty-five years of useful existence. Let me tell you that already I had twice the good fortune of being associated with the ceremonial occasions relating to this Institution. It vividly recalls to my mind the day of July in 1919 when I unveiled the inspiring bust of the late revered Dr. Bhandarkar. Lord Willingdon who in later part of his life came to be regarded as an Ambassador of Empire, inaugurated as you know this cosmopolitan character Institute which aims at understanding and learning the real history of past. Then again in November 1919, I had the proud privilege to offer a hearty vote of thanks to the then Governor of Bombay His Excellency Sir George Lloyd who presided over the First Oriental Conference held under the auspices of this Institute. That Conference was the first of its kind in the educational history of India. And this is the third time that I am privileged to show my regard for this worthy Institute.

"The British Academy-London- has appreciated the beneficent activities of this Body in the following terms:— "The Academy has been impressed by the unanimity of many eminent scholars warmly approving the work of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, as apparent in the published portions of its' edition, and trusts that all needful support may be accorded to the prosecution of so national a task." The stupendous work of editing the Critical edition of the Mahābhārata is receiving the warm attention of the President of the Institute and latest report states that but for the personal solicitude of our worthy President, His Excellency Sir Roger Lumley, for the well-being and Progress of the Mahābhārata work, it would have been well nigh impossible for the authorities of the Institute to improve the finances of the Mahābhārata Department especially during the War period. This amply bears testimony-if at all that be needed- to the keen interest taken by His Excellency in the good work of this temple of learning which has enabled good many devoted students to bear and carry the torch of Oriental Learning to the distant parts of this world.

"I am aware that you are all so eager to listen to the stimulating and instructive address of the world famous Seer and Philosopher - I mean - Sir Radhakrishnan who is a distinguished son of India. His contributions to the philosophic field are too well known to need repetition.

"I once more thank the Institute for the honour done to me today and warmly hope and trust that the Institute will thrive from year to year and will get the public and Government support in an ever increasing measure to carry out its precious and useful activities."

APPENDIX V

THE MESSAGE OF THE NAIMISĀRANYA

By

C. KUNHAN RAJA

[Dr. C Kunhan Raja of the University of Madras delivered a lecture on Tuesday 5th January 1943, the second day of the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, at 9 A.M. Sir S. Radhakrishnan presided on the occasion. The following is a summary of the lecture. —R. N. D.]

India has already passed through two epochs in the long history of her unbroken civilization, which must be counted in milleniums ; we are now on the threshold of the third epoch. The first epoch is what is called the Vedic age. The beginning of this age is computed to be about fifteen hundred B. C. by some and fifteen thousand B. C. by others. All that we can say is that it was a long period. When during this age the civilization was a burning force, India was politically free. A few centuries prior to the Christian Era, there began to appear signs of a breakdown in this civilization. The people and even the leaders of public opinion began to lose confidence in the efficacy of the old order and were harbouring hopes of starting a civilization afresh completely breaking away from the past. Simultaneous with this decline in Indian civilization India's political independence also suffered a set-back. The Greek invasion of India at this period is very well known.

The movement for substituting the Vedic civilization by a new civilization was arrested by a stronger movement for the regeneration of the Vedic civilization and its adaptation to the needs of the altered times. This revived civilization may be called the Purāṇic civilization. I prefer to call it the Mahābhārata civilization, in so far as all the Purāṇas and the entire literature representing this civilization have drawn their inspiration from the Mahābhārata. If I am asked to suggest one name to comprehensively designate this civilization, I can give only one name and that is Veda Vyāsa. He preached the greatness of the Vedic age ; he narrated the exploits of the great kings of

the Vedic age; he taught the nation that the essentials of the Vedic civilization were enough to nourish the nation in their civilized life. The essence of the Vedic civilization was the harmony between gods and men, between heaven and earth and between matter and spirit. The fundamental doctrine of the new civilization that was started to replace the Vedic civilization was the antithesis between the material cravings of man the needs of his spiritual aspirations. The consequent other-worldly and even anti-worldly outlook on life produced a degeneration in the people and this decline resulted in the possibility of foreign invasions. Veda Vyāsa's call to the nation for the revival of the Vedic civilization commanded a universal response and the nation could prolong their civilized life through another very long epoch. Śrī Kṛṣṇa the dominating personality of the Mahābhārata of Veda Vyāsa represented the true spirit of this revived civilization. He helped and guided the Pāṇḍavas in their fight to regain their hereditary throne. The Pāṇḍavas were described as coming of a long line of noble kings who had discharged their duty to the world as kings. The material prosperity of the country is not the only concern of kings. If it were so, Suyodhana was as good a king as, perhaps even a better king than, Yudhiṣṭhira. But respect for Dharma and tradition is even a more important virtue in a king and Suyodhana did not have this virtue, while Yudhiṣṭhira stood for Dharma and tradition. "Live and fight for your rights; follow tradition." This is the motto of Mahābhārata. Draupadi, the consort of the Pāṇḍavas was the visible representation of India's nationhood. The use of arms to protect her honour was the Dharma of the Pāṇḍava king.

Bhāravi, the poet, in his great epic, namely the Kirātārjunīya, extolled war in the defence of the freedom and the honour of the country, through the words of Draupadi and Bhīma; he condemned the policy of forbearance with country's enemy advocated by Yudhiṣṭhira, by bringing Vyāsa on the scene at that stage to give the counsel of gaining power and using it in defending the nation's rights and honour.

Similarly Kālidāsa sang about the great kings of old. In the Raghuvamśa there is no mention of the luxury of the palace or of military pomp in the whole description of Dillipa; nor in such

royal pomp held out as the prospective advantage in the union with any of the kings who had assembled for the Svayamvara of Indumatī. Immediately after the description of Dilīpa, he is taken out of the palace to the forest to see the world ; there he has to learn from the ordinary peasants the names of the common trees. What Kālidāsa wanted to emphasise is that the greatness of a king does not depend upon the paraphernalia usually associated with royalty. It is his relation with the world and the people in the world and his ability to discharge his responsibilities to the world that determine his greatness. A king has first to be great as a man if he is to be counted a great king. Kālidāsa sings of the beauty of the world. He describes the kings of the world as superior to the king of heaven. This world is a happier place according to Kālidāsa than heaven. The lord of the heaven depends on the kings of the earth in his wars with his foes. The damsels of heaven fall in love with the kings of earth. All these things have a great significance in inspiring a declining nation with their sense of duty to life and to the world where they have to live

All the poets drew their inspiration from the Mahābhārata of Veda Vyāsa. He is the acknowledged leader in this second epoch, marked out by the movement of Vedic revival and the Mahābhārata is the greatest gift to posterity of that nation wide movement. As a result of that movement, the nation was restored to her ancient glory that reigned during the Vedic age. During this second epoch, there were occasional conquests of parts of India by foreigners like the Cythians and the Huns. But all these hords of foreign adventurers were like fire-flies approaching a burning fire to eat the flames ; they were consumed by the fire. All the foreigners got merged in the Indian nation. So long as the civilization was burning, no foreign matter could defile the life of the nation.

The civilization of this second epoch is also on the point of decline at the present time. If we missed the chance to live and work for India during the days of Veda Vyāsa's personal leadership, the next best opportunity to live in India is the present age when we are again starting a new epoch. Just as the call of Veda Vyāsa was to keep the torch of Vedic civilization burning, the call to modern India should be to keep the civilization of

the Mahābhārata glowing. The glory of the past as recorded in the Mahābhārata should be an inspiration to us in our fight to restore the greatness and honour of our ancient country. If we can keep the torch burning, the path to our future glory remains well illuminated. When the fire begins to burn every foreign matter will get consumed into this fire. All the problems of modern India in her present day period of decadence will have a natural solution. India will have another epoch of great glory and will play her noble part in man's affairs in the world as a worthy partner.

It cannot be a mere accident that the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute has taken up the gigantic task of bringing out a critical edition of the Mahābhārata at this time; nor can it be an accident that the task has been entrusted to this Institute instead of to a European one, providence has a plan. This stupendous task should not be a mere intellectual curiosity for the editors or to the orientologists. Its appeal must be to the whole nation, who must be thrilled into a new state of activity under its influence. This Institute must be the Naimiṣāranya of the present age for the inauguration of the third epoch in the history of India with the *Message of the Mahābhārata*.

APPENDIX VI

INFORMAL DISCUSSION OF INDOLOGICAL TOPICS*

5th JANUARY, 1943

I

A SUGGESTION TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE EDITION OF THE MAHABHĀRATA

BY

V. M. APTE

It is well-known that the *Mahābhārata* is an *itihāsa*, *kāvya*, and (*dharma*-, *artha*-, *kāma*-, and *mokṣa*-) *śāstra*, rolled into one. The *daśasāhasrī saṁhitā*, indeed, is hardly one poetic production

* Only brief synopses of the lectures of these scholars who initiated the discussion of the topics are given here. These were followed by remarks made by several other scholars present on the occasion. — R. N. D.

but rather a *whole literature* ! Strangely enough, in a sense, this is just as it should be ! If an Epic is to continue to be a vital force in the life of any progressive people, it must be a *slow-changing book*.

It is a perfectly legitimate expectation then, that we should find a vast amount of pre-epical literature, absorbed in the *Mahābhārata*, by way of actual citations, allusions, summaries, amplifications, adaptations, imitations or parodies of relevant passages or chapters in that literature. Invaluable work in the matter of tracing these allusions etc. to their sources has been done by Holtzmann,¹ Hopkins² and others. Much remains to be done, however, especially with regard to Vedic literature. The problem, besides, assumes a new significance in view of the work of preparing a critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* that is going on at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, the material collected and the manuscripts collated there. What formerly, with only one edition before us, looked like a remote resemblance, a faint echo, a mere summary or at best an adaptation, may turn out now, in the light of the entire manuscript evidence, to be either an attempt at citation not materializing through failure of memory or lack of care, or a deliberate modification – an *ūha* of a Vedic passage. *A thorough-going attempt to trace all possible citations, adaptations etc., of passages in earlier Vedic and post-Vedic literature in a parvan may be of great help to the critical editor of that parvan, if not in selecting the best reading of a Mahābhārata passage, for which manuscript evidence must be his principal guide, at least in making his notes on the nature of his manuscript material.*

In judging of the tendencies at work responsible for the *differentiae* in the various manuscripts in their particular space-time context, the Critical Editor may, as well, take note of the *levelling influence* which tends to obliterate these *differentiae*, represented by the fact that some manuscripts give or try to give a version identical with the source-passage in its original form.³

It is my suggestion to the Mahābhārata Editorial Board of

¹ *Das Mahābhārata und seine Teile*, in four volumes, Kiel 1892-95.
The Great Epic of India.

² For specific instances of this type, see my paper 'Rgveda Citations in the Mahābhārata,' in the *Festschrift Kane*, Volume, (1941), 26-28.

the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, that they should Institute a special department to make the 'thorough-going attempt' described above. The problem may be tackled in two ways :-- (1) Each important text in pre-epical (chiefly Vedic) literature beginning with the Rgveda¹ may be taken up, one by one, and citations etc. therefrom may be traced in *all* the *parvans* of the Epic, with the aid of the critical material in the published ones and of the manuscript collations in the unpublished ones; (2) secondly all possible *citations*, etc. from all important pre-epical texts may be traced in *one particular parvan* of the epic. The results of such an investigation may then be placed before the Critical Editors of the different *parvans* and I have no doubt that such a procedure will enhance the value of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, to an appreciable extent.

II

BUDDHIST STUDIES

By

P. V. BAPAT

Next, Prof. P. V. Bapat, M.A., Ph.D., of Fergusson College, Poona, initiated the discussion on Buddhist studies. He stressed the need of making available, to Indian readers, Devanāgarī editions of Pali works— an activity which, by the bye, has been already undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, by publishing critical editions of three Pali books in the newly-started Bhandarkar Oriental Series— which would go a long way in popularising the study of Pali. Pali books, he pointed out, are with an increasing consensus of opinion, being accepted as the earliest available record on Buddhism and as such, no student of Buddhism can afford to neglect that branch of studies. He also made it clear that for the thoroughness of studies in that line, it is being more and more recognised that the study of Pali and Sanskrit books needs to be supplemented by a comparative study of Tibetan and Chinese sources.

¹ For an illustration of this method of approach, as limited to the Rgveda, see my paper described in the preceding foot-note.

Thanks to the University of Bombay and to the munificence of the Government of Chiang Kai Shek in China that complete sets of Chinese Tripitaka published respectively in Japan and China are now available to Buddhist scholars in Bombay Presidency. The Chinese set has been a free gift to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. All the same, scholars find themselves still handi-capped, on account of the absence of a complete edition of Tibetan Tripitaka, popularly known as Kanjur and Tanjur. He informed the audience that an attempt in that direction by the Library authorities of the University of Bombay has not yet been crowned with success and so the scholars have still to seek the help of Tibetan libraries at Adyar (Madras), Shantiniketan, Calcutta, or even, Washington (U. S. A.).

Mr. K. A. Padhye, Secretary, Buddhist Society, Bombay, followed. He also emphasised the importance of Chinese studies, reminding the audience that the Buddhist learning was originally Indian that it was taken from India by the scholar-travellers like Fa-hien, Yuan-chwang and I-tsing and that it, therefore, behoves Indian scholars to bring it back to India.

III

ORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF INDIA: THE BLACK AND THE WHITE RACES

BY

A. P. KARMARKAR

Various theories have been postulated in regard to the immigration of the different races in India. It is said that the Negritos, the Austro-Asiatic or the southern race, the Dravidians and the Aryans must have in succession entered into India. All these theories assume for the time being that India was uninhabitable since the beginning of the world.

The recent discoveries made at Mohenjo Daro, Harappa and other sites have really changed the outlook of scholarship. Uptill-now it was generally supposed that all the pre-Aryan inhabitants of India were black and of ugly features. But the beautiful and attractive representations and figurines of gods, goddesses and others obtaining on the above sites show exactly the opposite of these notions.

The Dravidians, who are also designated as Vrātyas in later literature, mainly consisted of the following tribes e.g. the Māhīśikas, the Bālīkas, the Gandhāras, the Yākṣas, the Minas or Matsyas, the Kīkaṣas, the Colas, the Keraḷas, the Pāṇḍyas and others.

In our opinion, all the above-mentioned theories in regard to the immigration of the various races, shall have to be revised. All that is said about the Mohenjo Daro civilization and about the megalithic tombs discovered in Southern India, should reveal to us one fact, namely, that, at one time, the Dravidians must have spread themselves in the whole of India. At the same time, there is very little evidence to postulate that any other race could have subsisted and pervaded in India on such a large scale. The question of a provisional immigration of some of the negroid races at a later date, is evidently possible.

In view of the new discoveries in India, all the attempts towards showing a separate home (other than Indian) for these Dravidians must prove rather unconvincing. The most eminent Savant Father Heras has successfully shown the various stages in which the culture of the proto-Dravidians could have migrated from India into the Western world.

The whole of the existing data proves beyond doubt that the home of the Dravidians must have been India itself. And on account of the two climatic zones into which India can naturally be divided, it is just possible that the same race could have been both black and white. Even the northerners were called as black by the Aryans because they must have been comparatively less fair than the Aryans themselves.

In the light of the above suggestions, it is worth while studying these two problems :

- (1) 'When did India actually become habitable?'
 - (2) 'What was the colour of the first race, whether white or black?'
-

IV

ANTIQUITY OF KARKĀCĀRYA

BY

B. R. KULKARNI

That the astronomical element embodied in the Vedic literature demands a close and comparative study is evident from the controversy of the Vedic Antiquity as it is being subjected to conclusions as poles asunder. The problem of ascertaining the date of Karkācārya a commentator on the Śulbasūtra of Kātyāyana, is a typical illustration of such an astounding difference.

A passage from him about the occurrence of an equinoctial day¹ is interpreted in three different ways arriving at dates ranging from 13000 B. C. to 100 A. D.

In the first version the sun is taken to rise heliacally on the vernal equinox day between Citrā (Spica) and Svāti (Arcturus) and his date is said to be somewhere about 13000 B. C.² Being doubtful about the accuracy of the passage or that of the argument, guidance was requested from Dr. K. L. Daptari of Nagpur. He kindly pointed out his own interpretation as well as another by Mr. Apte.

He opines that some error has crept into the passage, however it indicates that the point in the middle of the line joining the two constellations was rising in the due east.³ This brings Karkācārya some where about 1200 B. C. The third version accepts the heliacal rising of the sun between Citrā and Svāti but the meaning of Udagayana is supposed to be ' in the same ayana ' as against its usual technical sense and thus the day of equinox is taken to be of Autumn. This brings the commentator nearer by a thousand years i. e. about 200 A. D.⁴

¹ दक्षिणायने तु चित्रां यावदादित्य उपसर्पति । उदगयने स्वातिमिति । विषुवति च त्वहनि चित्रास्वात्योर्म्येवोदयः ।

² (1) Chulet's Veda Kala Nirnaya (in Hindi) p. 32.

(2) Chapekar Lokashikshana (Marathi monthly) Vol. 8 Nos. 5, 6 p. 427.

³ Maharashtra (A Marathi biweekly of Nagpur) date 3 July 1932.

⁴ Ibid (the review of Chulet's Veda Kala Nirnaya by the late Mr. G. S. Apte).

I am giving here one more interpretation based on an astronomical tradition that has remained unnoticed up to now. It was the evening and not morning that was used to express the equinoctial time.¹ Therefore the point between Citrā and Svāti should be taken to signify the acronychal rising of the same on the day of the vernal equinox. And in this way the antiquity of Karkācārya does not go beyond the first century A. D.

V

GUJARAT PREHISTORIC EXPEDITION

BY

H. D. SANKALIA

' At the outset Dr. Sankalia told how the Gujarat Prehistoric Expedition was organised by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archaeology in India. The aim of the Expedition was firstly to search systematically for the remains of palaeolithic and microlithic cultures in Gujarat, a few clues of which were given by Robert Bruce Foote in the last century; secondly to inquire about the supposed hiatus between these two cultures as postulated by Foote. The Expedition worked for over two months in the valleys of the Sabarmati and other rivers and collected much material for unravelling Gujarat's prehistory. The material is being studied now in the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona, and a report on it will be published in a year or two. '

1

पन्नरस मुहुत्तदिणो दिवसणे समा यजा हवई राई ।

सो होई विसुवकालो दिणराइणं तु संधिम्नि ॥ 280 ॥

(२) मंडलमइक्षत्थंमि अचक्खुविसयं गयंमि सूरामि

जो खलु मत्ताकालो सो कालो होई विसुवस्स ॥ 290 ॥

—ज्योतिषकरण्ड, (514.A.D.)

VI

ON THE α - PHONEME (A PROBLEM IN
DRAVIDIAN PHONETICS)

By

C. R. SANKARAN

1. Introduction- Phonetics and Phonematics.
2. The conception of *Phonemes* and their *Variants*.
3. The behaviour of the phoneme *Aytam* in old Tamil.
4. The study of its property leads to the formulation of the ' cut ' conception through the application of Dedekind's postulate and its designation as the α -phoneme.
5. The α -phoneme in other languages (both related and un-related.)
6. The advantages of this definition are numerous.
7. Conclusion. This definition leads to the examination of the ultimate nature of the vowels and consonants in human speech.
8. References.

1. Introduction-Phonetics and Phonematics.

Phonetics, as you all know, is a science which deals with speech sounds. It deals with the biophysical aspect of human speech. Its specialised branch is Experimental or Laboratory phonetics. In this study, linguistics and acoustics (a branch of physics) have the common meeting ground. Naturally the formulation of phonetic laws in the true sense of the term, are bound to be mathematical.

Now Phonematics (1. 49) is the *abstract science* which deals with the abstractions called the phonemes, the fundamental units of speech. These abstractions are nothing but the *logical classes* of what we in ordinary parlance call *Speech-sounds*.

2. The conception of *Phonemes* and their *Variants*.

Any phoneme is a *class* of a particular speech-sound (2). A class is the aggregate of all the entities which possess a certain property. Although the speech of a robust young man differs from that of a feeble old woman, we recognise for instance the same word *pin* when uttered by both the individuals. It is because in the *spoken word pin*, we recognise three classes *p*, *i*

and *n*. An *utterance-event* is said to occur in *space* and *time*, each time when the word *pin* is *consciously* uttered by any member of the speech community, in our particular instance the English. Each such *utterance-event* consists of one member of the class *p*, one of the class *i* and one of the class *n*.

The *utterance-event pin* can be contrasted with the *utterance-events tin, kin, sin; pan, pun; pill, till, kill, will* and thus we can abstract the classes of *p, i* and *n*. Thus we can easily get the classes of all the speech-sounds in any particular language. Each such class is a phoneme. Thus a *phoneme* is different from a *speech-sound*. The speech-sounds are shots aimed at the norm which is the phoneme- the bull's eye of the target. I am talking of the actual articulation here of say *p, i* or *n* in the stream of speech by the speakers of the language, when I talk of the *speech-sounds*. They, distributed about the norm of the phoneme, give *significance* to it, while the norm of the phoneme gives *meaning* to the speech-sounds which approximate it.

A phoneme is the smallest unit of *distinctive significance*. It is an atom-analogue in speech just as the morpheme (the smallest *meaningful unit* in speech) is the molecule-analogue. Every morpheme consists of one or more minimum distinctive *vocal features* called the phonemes. The classes of speech-sounds are certainly *finite*.

The range of every speech-sound is within a particular field in which there are *infinite variations*; if a speech-sound tends to the *limit* of the field which is legitimately its *domain*, it tends to jump into another field (phoneme) the domain of yet another infinite variations. Now within each field, there are sub-fields. Each such sub-field is called a variant of the particular phoneme. Some-time, the variant character of a phoneme is determined by the neighbouring phonemes. In such cases, we speak of the *combinatory* or *positional* variants. (4. 392; 5.54).

3. The behaviour of the phoneme *Aytam* in old Tamil.

The phoneme *Aytam* occurs in certain speech forms in old Tamil (3. 348-9). The *necessary* and *sufficient* 'conditions' for the occurrence of this phoneme are the preceding *vowel* and the following *consonant* in each of the instances (3. 348). By logical

deductions and other assumptions to which we are led on by the investigations on the occurrence of the phoneme (3. 348) (for instance, the *Ayam* in $\alpha \cdot \circ \cdot tu$ is assumed to be identical with the *Ayam* in $i \cdot \circ \cdot tu$), we arrive at the conclusion that this phoneme had only six variants as determined by *k*, *c*, *t*, *p*, and *r* respectively.

4. The study of the property of the *Ayam* leads to the formulation of the 'cut' conception through the application of Dedekind's postulate and the consequent designation of the *Ayam* as the α -phoneme.

Now the vowel-class can be designated as the L class, and the consonant class as the R class. Any member of the vowel class is less than any member of the consonant class on Roussel's theory of accent which assigns the cause to the organs of breath (6).

Therefore the *Ayam* is clearly seen to 'cut' the two classes in all the speech-forms under discussion, in the familiar manner of Dedekind's postulate (3. 345). Hence the designation of the *Ayam* as the α -phoneme and its variants as the α_1 , α_2 , α_3 , α_4 , α_5 and α_6 .

5. The α -phoneme in other languages (both related and unrelated).

We meet with the *Ayam* correspondent not only in certain uncultivated Dravidian dialects like Gōṇḍī (3. 349) but also in an Indo-European dialect - the Icelandic (4. 393) and probably also in some Kashmiri dialects (6).

6. The advantages of the definition of the α -phoneme are numerous.

The formulation of the conception of the α -phoneme as a segment between two successive change-points (5. 54) make us feel that Verner's law and the allied problems ought to be reexamined (4. 394). It has other advantages, too. It will make us understand the problems of the *allophones* of the visarga and the Kannada *r* (5. 56). It thus presents many a problem to the experimental phonetician.

7. Conclusion - The definition of the α -phoneme leads to the examination of the ultimate nature of the vowels and the consonants in human speech.

The formulation of the 'cut' conception brings to the fore-front the important conception that speech does not consist of blocks of constant sounds but of a *continuous* sound that changes more or less gradually from beginning to end and to the need of the specification of the structure of the speech-sounds in greater *quantitative detail* (5. 55-6, 6).

8. References.

- (1) Louis Hjelmslev, On the principles of phonematics *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Phonetic Sciences* 49-54, Cambridge 1936.
- (2) V. Brøndal. Sound and Phoneme. *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Phonetic Sciences* 40-45.
- (3) C. R. Sankaran, The Phonemic Variants of the 'Aytam in Old Tamil, BDCRI 2. 343-50.
- (4) C. R. Sankaran, The positional variants of the phoneme 'Aytam in old Tamil, BDCRI, 3, 392-4.
- (5) C. R. Sankaran, On the sub-Class of α -phoneme, BDCRI, 4. 54-6.
- (6) C. R. Sankaran, On the α -phoneme, BDCRI, 4. 124-6.

VII

COLONIZATION OF MAHĀRĀṢṬRA

BY

S. R. SHENDE

Mahārāṣṭra is the name of a part of Bhāratavarṣa which it received after the Aryan-settlers joined together to form one society, creating a common civilization and culture and using one language and the same mode of living to build up brotherhood amongst themselves. My object of the talk of this day is to place before the Pandits assembled here, my thoughts as I am able to form about the commencement of the colonization which is called Mahārāṣṭra with the help of प्राकृत grammars.

The oldest of the प्राकृत grammars is that of वररुचिः. It treats of four प्राकृत languages. The noticeable feature of the name of

these languages is that they are derived from the names given to such colonies of Aryans which they created after they crossed सिंधु नदी and entered भारतवर्ष. The प्राकृत languages described by बररुचि are पेशाची, शौरसेनी, मागधी and महाराष्ट्री. पेशाची was prevalent in पेशाचदेश i.e. the Punjab, शौरसेनी in शूरसेनदेश i.e. country round about मथुरा, मागधी in मगध i.e. Bihar and महाराष्ट्री in महाराष्ट्र. It can be surmised from the above that these were the four colonies which shaped into separate entities of societies with different cultures, modes and manners of living, with their new names for themselves and for the regions they lived in and lastly having their own distinctive styles of languages names of which are referred to by बररुचि.

We have now to find out where from the colonization of महाराष्ट्र took place. We can imagine that these colonizations expanded firstly by the sides of the rivers of the Punjab, subsequently by the banks of गंगा and यमुना in U. P. and therefore eastward by sides of गंगा in Bihar. We need not trouble over the details of these colonies. But we have to enter into details of the colonization of महाराष्ट्र being the subject matter of this talk.

Following the theory of river-side-colonization we find that the Aryans after having settled by the sides of यमुना to create शूरसेनदेश colony, must have proceeded eastward by the same river. And after they crossed Agra they came across a new river चर्मण्वती the present day चंबळा which merged into यमुना. It was but natural that some of the Aryans might have proceeded eastward by the side of यमुना and the rest might have taken route by चर्मण्वती which has sprung up in the southern Malva travelled eastern Rajaputana and joined यमुना. These Aryans who made choice of taking the course of चर्मण्वती had to wade through the deserts of Rajaputana till they reached the fertile land of माळवा following the क्षिप्रा a tributary of चर्मण्वती and settled down the country round about उज्जयिनी or अंबेती. Here, it seems, they must have settled for a long time to form a new society creating every feature of it for themselves, a new name महाराष्ट्र for the land and a new name for the language they brought into being for their use i.e. महाराष्ट्री.

In support of the above statement I quote here a line from प्राकृत सर्वस्व, a grammar compiled by मार्कण्डेय which runs as:--

आवंती स्यान्महाराष्ट्री शौरसेन्योस्तु संकरात् । It seems from this line that there was a dialect current in अवन्ती by the name आवन्ती being a mixture of महाराष्ट्री and शौरसेनी. We therefore can safely take the colonization of महाराष्ट्र to have commenced near about अवन्ती.

VIII

INDOLOGY IN POLAND

BY

LUDWIK STERNBACH

Sanskrit and Ancient Indian Civilisation were taught in Poland in three most important Universities. The fact that the study of Sanscritology was represented in Poland in three Universities means that there were only a few students at each centre. The study of Indology involved a course of five years. The study was limited to philology, exact sciences and Ancient Indian Literature. Unfortunately very little classical Sanskrit literature has been translated into Polish. A few Polish manuals on Indology also exist in Poland.

In Lwow the very proper method of consultations between students and professors was introduced. The new students came to the professors who asked them why they wanted to study Indology. The replies varied. From these replies a plan of lectures was laid down for each student.

The Universities in which Indology was taught were Lwow, Cracow and Warsaw. Prof. St. Stasiak of the Lwow University is a great scholar in Logic. Prof. H. Willman Grabowska of the Cracow University is interested in Sanskrit Philology. Prof. St. Schayer of the Warsaw University has devoted himself to the study of the Ancient Indian Philosophy.

A few years before the outbreak of the war the Sanskrit grammar in Polish by the late Prof. A. Gawronski, a great Polish scholar in Indology, appeared. The editors of this grammar were Prof. H. Willman Grabowska and Asst. Prof. E. Sluszkiewicz, pupil of Prof. A. Gawronski. Although this grammar has been known only a few years and although it was published in Polish it enjoys a well merited reputation among the savants so much that before the outbreak of the war there

was a proposal to translate it into several Western European languages.

It is well known that the Polish Universities have been closed by the German Authorities. As long as the University of Lwow was under Russian occupation Prof. St. Stasiak with whom I worked upto March 1940 was Director of the Faculty of Oriental Languages of the Lwow University. In 1941 Lwow was occupied by the Germans and many Polish Professors were shot, many deported and sent to concentration-camps. The fate of Prof. Stasiak and of the Asst. Prof. E. Sluszkiewicz is unknown. The University of Cracow was closed by the Germans in November 1939. A great many professors were sent to concentration-camps in Germany. According to unofficial news Prof. H. Willman Grabowska, as a woman, was not included in the list. Unfortunately in 1942 Prof. St. Schayer died in Warsaw. He was a great scholar in Indology and Ancient Indian Philosophy. This loss is for the Polish Science all the more sorrowful as there are in Poland only a few scholars in Indology.

APPENDIX VII

CRITICAL EDITION OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

[Below we publish the statement read, on 5th January 1943, by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, on the occasion of the presentation of the *Āraṇyakaparvan* of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata to Shrimant Rajasaheb of Aundh and the publication of a fascicule of the *Sabhāparvan* in connection with the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

—R. N. D.]

It is now more than seventeen years since I took over charge of the Mahābhārata work and reorganized, on somewhat different lines, this Department of the Institute, having profited by the experiences and experiments of my predecessor, the late lamented Mr. Utgikar. During this interval the Institute has published Critical Editions of four complete Books of the Mahābhārata: *Ādiparvan* (1933), *Virāṭaparvan* (1936), the *Udyogaparvan* (1940), and now the *Āraṇyakaparvan* (1942). These four

parvans comprise, according to the Parvasaṁgrahaparvan, about 28,400 ślokas. In addition to this a fascicule of the Sabhāparvan edited by Prof. Franklin Edgerton of Yale University (U. S. A.), which has been ready for some time and which could be taken up for printing only owing to the very generous special grant of Rs. 10,000 recently made by the Government of Bombay, is being published today. Furthermore, the press-copy of the Bhīṣma-parvan, which is being edited by Rao Bahadur Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, is almost ready and is now undergoing final revision at the hands of its editor. It will be ready for being sent to the press very shortly. In fact the work is advanced as far that it can be got ready for the press within three months. But can we send it to the press? Not unless we can find a generous donor prepared to pay for the cost of the printing of the new volume, in these days when the cost of printing has almost doubled. The present financial situation of the Department is such that we can just manage to get the press-copies ready; but the large world of scholars outside the walls of this Institute, eagerly awaiting the appearance of our now-famous yellow-covered fascicules, must unfortunately be kept waiting until more funds are available.

Any way, during the past 17 years the Institute has critically dealt with the first 6 parvans of the Great Epic: the Ādi, Sabhā, Āraṇyaka, Virāta, Udyoga and Bhīṣma. The six parvans make up a total of about 36,800 ślokas, out of an aggregate of 82,150 ślokas, a portion which is approximately 45% of the entire Mahābhārata, excluding, of course, the Harivaṁśa, which I have kept out of my calculation in order not to frighten you too much. Even this is no mean achievement, I think. The part of the epic critically dealt with so far is, I imagine, in bulk about four times as great as the Greek epics, Iliad and Odyssey put together and one and a half times as our Rāmāyaṇa.

That a work of this nature and these dimensions is not one man's job is very very evident. Many friends, collaborators, sympathisers and patrons have contributed to such measure of success as has been achieved so far, and they include among them princes and potentates, curators and librarians, printers and parvan-editors, not to speak of the General Editor and his modest staff of collators in the background. Surely, the most

potent among these multifarious contributory factors have been our generous patrons, who, out of regard for this venerable monument of Indian antiquity, this great and lustrous heritage of Bhāratavarṣa, have in the past liberally supplied the Institute, through all these years, with funds to carry on this costly but vital work.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I must tell you frankly this is a costly work. All good work costs money now-a-days! Good manuscripts cost money. Good printing costs money. Good editors cost money.

The British nation once paid out one million pounds for one rare Ms. of the Bible. Would India pay a similar amount for any book? Why not? Are the British people greater lovers of books, greater lovers of literature, greater lovers of religion, greter lovers of knowledge than we Indians? Certainly not. Great Britain is a small nation, a young nation, compared to India. And our love of knowledge, love of literature, love of scriptures, is greater. We are the inheritors of the great book, this "book of books" composed at a time when Great Britain was not yet entered on the map of civilized nations. And the entire cost of making this Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata is only one million rupees— and not pounds — which is only 15% of the cost of the Bible. We have collected and spent already 5 lakhs of rupees. We want now only 5 lakhs more. And we are not pessimistic about it. We have no reason to be that. When the war clouds have passed away, better days will surely dawn for us; then the thoughts of men will again turn to the preservation and growth of cultural values. We shall then, I am confident, enjoy the same generous support from patrons of learning as we have hitherto enjoyed and that will help us to carry to completion one of the most important of our national projects.

If you want me to point out to you just one man who is responsible for originating and furthering the project, he is sitting in front of you, I mean, Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, the Raja of Aundh.

The question may occur to you. Is it worth all this expenditure? Whether we realize it or not, we still stand under the spell of the Mahābhārata. Amid the deepest strands that are

woven in the thread of our civilization, there is more than one that is drawn originally from Bhāratavarṣa and from Sanskrit literature. And well in the centre of this vast mass of literature, there stands this deathless, traditional book of divine inspiration, unapproachable and far removed from possibilities of human competition.

There is a danger that in our pseudo-scientific mood, we may be tempted to discard this great book, thinking that we have outgrown it. That would be a capital blunder! That would in fact mean nothing but an indication of our will to commit suicide, national suicide, the signal of our national extinction. For never was truer word spoken than when the late German Indologist Hermann Oldenberg said that "in the Mahābhārata breathe the united soul of India, and the individual souls of her people." And why is that? Because the Mahābhārata is the national saga of India. It is, in other words, the content of our collective unconscious. And just for that reason it refuses to be discarded. We must therefore grasp this great book with both hands and face it squarely. Then we shall recognize that it is our past which has prolonged itself into the present. *We are it*: I mean the real WE! Shall we be guilty of strangling our own soul? NEVER!

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SILVER JUBILEE ADDRESS

(Monday, 4th January 1943)

· BY

Sir S. RADHAKRISHNAN

I appreciate the great honour which your Council has done me by asking me to give the address on the auspicious occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute which is our nation's tribute to the life and work of a master intellect, a noble soul and a moving force in Indian Renaissance and Sanskrit studies. The Institute was founded with the object of "promoting among its members a spirit of inquiry into the history of our country—literary, social and political— and of affording facilities to outsiders engaged in the same pursuit." ¹ Poona has been for long a home of Sanskrit learning and it has become more so by the establishment of this centre of study and research. In the first few years, the Institute worked under the direct guidance of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and thereafter his example has been a great inspiration to the workers. By his own works on *The Early History of the Deccan*, *Vaiṣṇavism*, *Śaivism*, and *minor Religious systems*, *Wilson Lectures on Philology* and study of inscriptions and manuscripts, he has left for us an enduring example of precise work and exact scholarship. It is interesting to know

¹ Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's Inaugural Address delivered on the 15th of December, 1918.

his views about the qualifications of a good research student. "One who enters into that field is required to be a man of exceptional intelligence, a man with a clear head and with very acute and keen reasoning powers. The next requisite and a very essential requisite is that there must be curiosity in him; and the third requisite is that there must be a freedom from bias and thorough impartiality in forming an opinion on any question that comes forward." He lived up to the standard which he laid down and enjoyed the highest reputation among his equals, Indian and European. The wish *samānānām uttama-śloka bhavatu* was realised in his case to the fullest extent.

A period of twenty-five years is not much in the history of an institution like this, but when we realise that it was the first research institute for Indological studies established by us and it had to pass through the period of the armistice between the two wars, when our country was also plunged into widespread agitation more than once, it is a matter for thanksgiving that the Institute has been privileged to carry on its work unhampered by the events of the world. The Institute may well take the credit for the establishment of the All-India Oriental Conference and we are grateful to it for the collection of Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts, and for cataloguing them on scientific lines, for its *Annals*, for the publication of important works through the Government Oriental Series, including that monumental and standard production on Dharmaśāstra by Mahamahopādhyāya Professor P. V. Kane, and for the publication of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata under the devoted and distinguished editorship of Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, and his scholarly colleagues like Dr. S. K. Belvalkar who have dedicated their lives to the pursuit of Sanskrit learning. All this is work of supreme importance to our country and the world. The Institute is grateful to the people, the princes, one of whom presides over the meeting today and another, to whose enlightened generosity the undertaking of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata owes a great deal, is the Chairman of the Regulating Council, and the Government of Bombay. I have just had the pleasure of handing the Silver Jubilee medals to five of the chief workers of the Institute.

The Institute was established during the last world war and is celebrating its Jubilee in the second world war when the world is filled with unhappy hates. It only shows that even when the world is plunged in flames it is the duty of intellectuals to preserve the heritage of reason and speak for the tradition of civilisation. When a professor of Oxford was asked in the last war as to why he was not in the front when the war for civilisation was being fought, he replied: "I am the Civilisation for which they are fighting." In the present war which is so vast, intimate and ultimate that it reaches to the very roots of human life, we must speak out and recall men, whose ideas of right and wrong have been artificially perverted, to the true values. The evil of the world is not the product of a malignant fate but of a deadly blindness. Plato says: "Must we not suppose that the souls which have the finest natural endowment are precisely those that tend to go sensationally to the bad under the influence of a bad education? When one looks into the great crimes and the examples of unmitigated wickedness, does one find that these are the fruits of second rate character? Are they not apt rather to be the fruits of a vitality that has been corrupted by a wrong upbringing? Is it not the fact that a weak character is never the author of anything great-either for good or for evil?" Our ideas of right and wrong, the meaning of life and its purpose require to be reconsidered. The belief in the perfectibility of man, in the omnipotence of reason, in the certainty of progress cannot be sustained, if we look at the contemporary world where reason is enchained, the pillars of society are cracking and man has no desire to become perfect but only wishes to have a good time. We have a civilisation of the cinema and the radio, cheap press and sex novels, a civilisation which exalts mysticism of the senses, which looks upon morality as an outworn sham, art as a sedative and literature as an escape. It is not without its glory for even though brutality masquerades as strength, the tough virtues of courage and endurance of loyalty and discipline are practised by millions. But these minor moralities are not enough. There are certain things without which we cannot live and certain other things without which we should not care to live. The present times which are

rich in knowledge, organisation and discipline show how these great means are being harnessed to primitive ends of group loyalties and collective forms of selfishness. The primordial fires of tribe, race and nation are still burning. When the mask is torn away in a crisis like the present one, our primitive countenance is revealed. We have a civilisation which is rich in means and poor in ends. We have lost our way and to get back to it, we must study the visions and achievements of man at his best and return to the true principles of life. We require to be educated not merely for life but for the good life. We need a knowledge of ends also.

If there is one country in the world which has borne persistent witness to the truths of spirit in spite of changes of fortune, social convulsions and political upheavals, it is India. The sustaining power of the faiths to which she has given birth, the warm hospitality with which she welcomed all creeds, the temples, mosques, and churches which the dreamers of every faith have built to draw near to the heaven of their imagining, the sacred places of the human spirit which conquerors from abroad sought to profane and enslave to glorify their special creeds have made India hallowed ground for us all. The marvellous continuity of our civilisation which has been preserved in its essentials in spite of repeated attacks from within and without shows that her significance is unexhausted. Archaeologists have revealed to us not only the great antiquity, but also the vast extent of the Hindu civilisation. Hindu cities and temples were unearthed at Anuradhapura in Ceylon, at Borobudur in Java and at Angkor in Cambodia. Hindu influence on Greece and Palestine through Indian soldiers in Persian armies and Aśoka's missions is gradually being unfolded. Sir Aurel Stein has traced Indian settlements and caravan routes through the desert of Central Asia right up to the great wall of China. Buddhism found its way across the Indian borders into Mongolian countries about the second century B. C. For 600 years from the reign of Kaṇiṣka to that of Harṣa cultural relationships between the Indians and the Chinese were uninterrupted. Chinese pilgrims who visited the holy places of India have left valuable records of their journeys

and many Buddhist works of which the originals are lost survive in Chinese, Japanese and Tibetan versions. Even in recent times, the names of Schopenhauer, Hartmann, Nietzsche, Deussen, Keyserling, Emerson, Thoreau, Whitman, W. B. Yeats, George Russell, Romain Rolland, Aldous Huxley remind us of the vitality of Indian civilisation and its value for the modern world whose mind is obsessed by science, scepticism and the anguish of denial.

If the world with its mixing of cultures and mingling of races is to be rebuilt, the process of gradual integration of heterogeneous people described in our ancient classics may have some lessons for us. India has never been exclusive unlike some of the great nations of antiquity. Speaking of Greece and Rome, Macaulay observes, "The fact seems to be that the Greeks only admired themselves and that the Romans admired only themselves and the Greeks."¹ India, on the other hand, was never obsessed by the cult of self-sufficiency. Even in the work of this Institute we have the collaboration of Indian and European scholars. Indian society is a complex thing, the result of a slow growth, manifold in its source, varied in its build. Indian people are made up of the most extraordinary mingling of races and cultures and the spirit of India is more intangible, more ample, more contradictory, more incalculable than that of other peoples. It escapes definition and is the despair of the scientific historian. It is definitely impressive as it has dominated Indian memory and imagination from the beginning of her history. Frequently she was fascinated by other cultures, but never subjugated.

Today when our art and literature, when our social and political programmes are filled with the voices of despair, the need for voicing India to herself and to the world has arisen. In studying the ancient classics we must have intense historical imagination which alone can turn learning into wisdom, clothe the old strength in a new form. You have for your motto *tejasvi nāvadhītamastu*. Knowledge must become power,

¹ *Miscellaneous Writings* (History) 1860, Vol. I. p. 263.

radiance, illumination. To attain to truth is not to crowd the memory but to illumine the mind. May knowledge grow into wisdom. We know very little and when we know enough of our ignorance we will kneel down and pray. When asked what constituted wisdom Confucius replied : " To cultivate earnestly our duty towards our neighbour and to reverence spiritual beings while always maintaining a due reserve may be called wisdom." A spirit of reverence towards eternal things, goodwill and a troubled concern over the waywardness of men and the misfortunes of people, respect for the freedom and dignity of the human spirit are the marks of wisdom. Human beings are not charged particles in ceaseless motion, but living spirits, and to enable them to realise their spiritual possibilities is the end of all social institutions. Any one who looks at the present condition of India will tell us that it is no use talking about the vanished glory and faded greatness when we are engulfed in a common shame. We have lost nerve and heart. We are tired in mind and body. In the presence of urgent needs, we reveal a curious sense of apathy. In the face of desperate crises we wait for something to turn up. Our leaders seem to be as it were in Plato's cave conversant not with mankind but with their shadows.

While the spirit of India can never die, the social institutions which do not embody it must be scrapped. While the foundations which our fathers laid are sure and sound, the superstructure requires to be altered. If the fair name of India is to be redeemed from the charges of senility and sterility, our mind must be liberated from the thralldom of outworn customs and corrupt practices. While we are the heirs to the spiritual treasures of our venerable teachers and saints, we are also the pioneers of a new order of development. We must create a future India with new conceptions of life and duty. The misfortune of revolutionists is that they are disinherited. The good fortune of radical reformers like Sir R. G. Bhandarkar is that they know that while the past cannot be blotted out, movement is the essence of life. While he lived under a continuing vision of the unseen he let the ancient light shine on all the

questions which are agitating us, the misery and struggle of humanity, the vulgar worship of wealth, the sadness and pain of the dispossessed. While he was a practising theist, he was also an ardent reformer. In his Presidential Address at the Ninth Indian Social Conference held in 1893, he said :

“ And most of the reforms we advocate involve no break of continuity. Some of them will be welcomed by the orthodox people themselves, and as regards a great many others, what we propose is merely to go back to the more healthy condition in which our society once existed. In ancient times girls were married after they had attained maturity, now they must be married before; widow marriage was in practice, now it has entirely gone out; women were often highly educated and taught music and dancing, now they are condemned to ignorance and denied any accomplishments. The castes were only four in number, now they are innumerable. Inter-dining among those castes was not prohibited, now the numberless castes that prevail cannot have inter-communication of that nature. Consistently with the maintenance of continuity in this manner, there ought to be, I think, as much action as possible. A strong public opinion must be created among the whole body of educated natives condemning any departure from the programme of reform while no mercy should be shown to one who does what even the orthodox disapprove, and at sixty, marries a girl of ten or twelve, or another wife immediately after the death of the first. The exhibition of any caste partiality must also be severely condemned, as no religious rules require it. Unless we act in this manner, all our advocacy of reform will sink into merest sentimentality more demoralising in its effect than sturdy orthodoxy.”¹

An inarticulate idealism which is too noble to be at ease with the chaotic conditions in India and too feeble to improve the situation will not do. We must brush aside the passive obstruction of ignorance and inertia and the powerful ones of dogmatic authority and vested interest. As the guardians of the essential wisdom of India, as the trustees of the humane learning

¹ Collected works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Vol. II, page 497.

and social idealism of this land, it is your great function to preserve and transmit to future generations the burning faith in the spirit and equality of man which will consume selfishness and destroy bondage. Those who are directly connected with the working of the Institute can look back on the twenty-five years, note the difficulties encountered and overcome and can indicate to us the detailed ways and means by which the work of the Institute can be furthered. I hope very much that the important work which the Institute has undertaken will not be hampered by lack of funds. It will be a libel on our princes and merchants to suggest that their generosity will fail in the matter of this great cultural enterprise. It only remains for me to express to you, on behalf of the people of this ancient land, Benares Hindu University and of myself, our deepest gratitude for your noble work and our prayerful wishes that the Institute and its band of workers may prosper even more in years to come.

THE INFLUENCE OF POPULAR DIALECTS ON SANSKRIT *

BY

S. M. KATRE

Our ancient scriptures tell us that every man is born burdened with three debts which he should endeavour to liquidate during his term of life to the best of his ability : the three *ṛnas* to the gods, to the ancestors and to the *ṛṣis*. Of these the first two are practically within the means of most of us : we maintain our gods with due reverence and pomp. Witness for instance, the worship of the Elephant-Faced-God that we have initiated yesterday; and the last census returns show a definite increase in our population. But it is the debt to the *ṛṣis*, both ancient and modern, which is the most difficult to discharge, and which is generally left unpaid. It is thus a matter of great importance that this Institute which commemorates the revered name of a modern *ṛṣi* who made the study of the language of the gods a fascinating one during the second half of the nineteenth century, justly celebrates this occasion in honour of all *ṛṣis*, both ancient and modern. This is an occasion when every man can take stock of his own activities, consider the credit and debit side of his moral and spiritual life, and settle where possible the last of the three debts to the best of his abilities. I am very grateful indeed for the honour the Institute has done me by inviting me to deliver the present address to you this evening, and despite the short notice I have gladly accepted it in the hope that I shall at least partially redeem my *ṛṣi-ṛna* by speaking to you on some of the thoughts which have come to me in my own research activities as a result of suggestions thrown out in his many-sided contributions by Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar. My only regret is that the present duty has not fallen on more worthy

* Substance of the Address delivered on the occasion of the *Rṣipañcami* Day at the Institute on 15th September 1942.

shoulders, for if you will pardon my saying so, the choice of the present lecturer has not been exceptionally wise or happy. I see before me far worthier scholars than myself who can rightly claim to be the *epigoni* of that great *abhinavaṛṣi* and therefore in a position to render far more valuable service to the cause which he represented in his life and which is crystallized during the past twentyfive years in the activities of this great Institute. If I appear at all before you today it is with the full confidence that the spirit of that *ṛṣi* is present here among us, casting its beneficent influence all around us, and inspiring us to discharge honourably and with equity the spiritual debt due from us to the entire *ṛṣi*hood.

My own introduction to the language of the gods happily came through the two books of Sanskrit which Dr. Bhandarkar made famous during the second half of the nineteenth century; and, but for these two books, I would not have pursued the study of Pāṇini and Patañjali in the orthodox manner. Even apart from this, in spite of his many-sided contributions to the general fund of Indology, Dr. Bhandarkar once more gave a new direction to the moribund interest of the educated masses of not only this province, but practically of the whole of India, in Sanskrit and Sanskritic studies. He combined within himself the best of the East and the West, and with his peculiar synthetic spirit, evolved a new line of approach to our ancient cultural heritage of which Sanskrit or the 'language of the gods' is the chief vehicle of expression. There have been more profound scholars in the East and the West, but none so versatile and equally at home with the East and the West. Naturally when one contemplates on the character and achievements of Sir Ramkrishna, Sanskrit occupies the central position in any estimate, and this tradition is being continued even now by the activities of this Institute in the magnificent critical edition of the Great National Epic, the most stupendous work ever to be undertaken during the present century, and of the highest importance to Indian culture.

The first scientific demonstration that Sanskrit was a spoken idiom is contained within the series of lectures with which

Dr. Bhandarkar inaugurated the Wilson Philological Lectures in 1877 in the University of Bombay. Since then other scholars have taken up that subject, and the chief contributions on the topic have appeared in the *JRAS* during the turn of the century up to the commencement of the last Great World War. In fact I am given to understand that Mm. Prof. P. V. Kane, in his Wilson Philological Lectures during 1913, has extensively dealt with this topic. Sixty years after this memorable event, in 1937, at the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference held at Trivandrum, the learned General President, Prof. F. W. Thomas, once again raised the subject, not in order to prove that Sanskrit was a spoken medium, but in order to show that in Sanskrit alone one could find the basis for a common language for the whole of India. Nay, he even went further, and declared that he did not feel that the idea of Sanskrit resuming its place as a common literary medium for India was a hopelessly lost cause, since the alternative was either that there should be no such medium (other than English) or the dominance of some particular vernacular, despite unavoidable reluctances. Here we observe a foreign scholar, equally a master of Sanskrit as of Tibetan and Chinese, giving his unbiased opinion, that Sanskrit which was the language of the gods, may once again become the common literary medium of the whole of India and thus descend to earth like the sacred Gaṅgā and purify the accumulated dirt and sins of millenniums.

It is not necessary for me to indicate in any detail the unifying cultural influence of this sacred polished language of ancient India. The supremacy of the Aryan rule in general superimposed a Sanskrit bias on the linguistic systems current in India during the ancient and medieval periods. Not only was the South of India converted to a Sanskrit bias: witness, for instance, the Kanarese and Telugu Literatures of the 9th-10th centuries A. D. which contain, on an average over 90 per cent of pure Sanskritic vocables, so much so that these languages have been classified by their grammarians as prakritic in origin—but they also became the centres for the preservation of Sanskrit culture when the North was overrun by foreign invaders professing a different culture and a different medium of communi-

cation. Even the discident Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī, the religious vehicles of Southern Buddhism and Jainism, had to yield reluctantly to the reaffirmed supremacy of Sanskrit; and so far as Northern Buddhism was concerned, as also later Jainism, Sanskrit once again became the literary medium. With the spread of Sanskrit culture to Greater India, the influence of the language was increasingly felt even in the Pacific Islands; Tibetan and Chinese and even distant Japanese have been modified by their contacts with Sanskrit language and culture. Thus, for a period of more than four thousand years, Sanskrit, whether in its vedic garb, or in its severely refined classical form as witnessed in Patañjali's Great Commentary, whether in the language known today as Buddhist or Jain Sanskrit, or even in the flowing but not strictly grammatical idiom of the Epics, has maintained a firm grip on the cultural evolution of our country and in the spread of that synthesised culture abroad to China, Japan and the Pacific Islands. Not only that, the so-called 'discovery' of Sanskrit by the Europeans has contributed to the foundation of the new science of Comparative Grammar which is still in its infancy, but which has given a new orientation to the rigorous study of not only the members of the Indo-European family of languages but also of other families. It has incidentally supplied the technical terms for certain linguistic phenomena such as *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*. All this is but a minor phase in the development of Sanskrit from its earliest appearance in the vedic hymns to its being employed as medium in technical sciences in the late medieval and modern periods.

When such is the field of Sanskrit and so great the extent of its power and influence over every linguistic unit with which it has come into contact for a period of more than four thousand years, our eyes are generally blinded to the two-fold aspect of 'give and take' which is inevitable in a such a slow but steady process of transformation. We are inclined to take into account only the influence of Sanskrit on other literary mediums and look askance at any proposition which is contrary to the hypothesis of loans from Sanskrit. This bias has led, for instance, to the creation of a special medium which the early linguists of the last century called the Gāthā dialect, particularly

in the compositions of the Northern Buddhists, wherein 'correct', Sanskrit is interspersed with 'incorrect' Sanskrit. Now what is this distinction in the two classes termed 'correct' and 'incorrect' Sanskrit which separates them? I have only to refer you to Dr. Bhandarkar's lectures on the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages wherein he quotes extensively from Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* and arrives at the conclusion that 'correct' Sanskrit represents the medium as 'current' among the *śiṣṭas* or the refined educated class. Thus we arrive at the concept of a 'current' Sanskrit in opposition to a 'non-current' Sanskrit, both comprising what may be termed the speech habits of the refined and educated Aryans of Central India in general, with some local variations already indicated by Pāṇini and delineated in greater detail by Patañjali. A third category is defined by Patañjali by the term *apabhāṣita-* or *apabhraṁśa* or *apabhraṣṭa*, including forms actually 'current' some time during the history of Indo-Aryan, but not among the *śiṣṭas*. As regards the idea of 'currency' both the Vārttikakāra and the Bhāṣyakāra agree on the domain of linguistic usage as consisting of the space-time context and this lively discussion is introduced in the *Mahābhāṣya* by the vārttika '*astyaprayuktaḥ*' and ending with the vārttika '*sarve deśāntare*' and although '*deśa*' signifies 'space' in general, the idea of time is also inherent in it. And it is still a wonder to me that this space-context with its implied time-context which India discovered as vital to a historical study of her linguistic systems, remained dormant for nearly two thousand years, and did not take its central place in modern linguistics (itself the result of the 'discovery' of Sanskrit) until the discovery and decipherment of Hittite and Tocharian and the consequent restudy of the entire history of Indo-European in the light of their individual development. Apart from the significance of this space-time context in the historical development of Indo-Aryan languages themselves, we have to observe the two types of *śiṣṭa* Sanskrit in opposition to the speech habits of the non-*śiṣṭas*, and to that extent we have what may be designated the 'standard' Sanskrit as distinguished from the 'popular' Sanskrit or 'popular dia-

lects' of Sanskrit and to use a more technical term, of Old and Middle Indo-Aryan.

It will be seen from the brief enumeration above that besides the standard forms 'current' among the *śiṣṭas* in their space-time evolution, the Aryan languages themselves possessed 'current' non-*śiṣṭa* forms which I wish to designate in this lecture as the popular dialect forms; in fact Patañjali goes so far out as to indicate the proportion of the standard and popular forms: *ekaikasya hi śabdasya bahavo-* 'pabhrāmśāḥ. The question which I wish to pose before you is this: How far have these popular dialects in their space-time evolution influenced the development of the *śiṣṭa* speech itself? In other words, what is the influence of Popular Dialects on Sanskrit?

In order to approach this problem we have to take into consideration first the nature of Sanskrit itself. This language of the gods, technically designated by linguists as Old Indo-Aryan or the first stage of the Aryan language brought within India, itself consists of several strands of dialects which show their dialectical characteristics in varying degree. For we have shown above that the idea of 'currency' at any given period has to do with regions, and what is 'current' in a particular region may not be *śiṣṭa* for the whole of India. Such peculiarities have been noticed, for instance, in the Rgveda. Thus with reference to the Infinitive forms in the Rgveda, Brunnhofer has observed that the Ātreyas in the 8th maṇḍala have none in *-tu-*, the Kāṇva in the 1st and 5th maṇḍalas almost none in *-tum* and *-tavai*; similarly the Vasiṣṭhas in the 7th maṇḍala have no absolutive forms in *-tvā* and *-tvāya*, and just one instance in *-tvī* (if the khila hymn 7, 104, 8 is not taken into consideration). Scholars are divided in their opinion regarding the interpretation of these phenomena; Wackernagel believes that despite these peculiarities the language throughout the Rgveda shows unity, notwithstanding the diversity of composition. Are we to consider these as stylistic or artistic peculiarities or as definite signs of dialectical tendencies in the stream of language which goes to constitute what we know today as Sanskrit? For myself, taking account of the entire history of the language

from its earliest appearance to its latest phases, it is evident that from the space-time context consideration of linguistic facts, all such regional or family peculiarities and the much more certain chronological peculiarities together give us, from the analogical considerations, tributaries forming the life-giving waters of the major stream of language. A consideration of the language of the Rgveda itself shows that the 10th maṇḍala exhibits a later phase than the rest of the text; similarly that of the Yajurveda is younger than that of the Rgveda; and in this manner we can discover linguistic strata from the Rgveda down to the Sūtras constituting the first phase of old Indo-Aryan. Nevertheless the so-called 10th maṇḍala of the Rgveda exhibits certain archaisms as well, and these archaisms appear to be consciously attempted.

Now it is reasonable to assume that what is current in a given region at a given period among the *śiṣṭas* may not have currency elsewhere; and the process by which such forms infiltrate in other regions is one which must occur in point of time-context dependent on several considerations such as the political or cultural importance of the region concerned. In addition there is the linguistic process affecting the already current speech habit of the region in its time-sequence, and these together give us what the Germans call the *Sprachgut* or the linguistic material of that particular region at a given point of time. Thus the new forms which have been evolved in the 10th maṇḍala of the Rgveda represent, for instance, the general linguistic evolution of the language in its time sequence. But what of the conscious archaisms? Do they represent a conscious activity the bards to appear more ancient and therefore more authoritative, or do they contain within themselves, at least in a few cases, the infiltrating activities of *śiṣṭa* forms current at an earlier period in the same region, or of forms current in another region at that period? To answer these questions is not easy, for we have not sufficient materials with us on which we can base our conclusions. And we have not sufficient experience in these matters in the entire domain of Sanskrit literature, for everywhere we have to face the difficulty of assigning correct chronological or regional limits to any given work of such an ancient date. There is only one way open to us; we

can assume certain possibilities and see if they are borne out in the entire evolution of Indo-Aryan from its oldest phase to the latest. One of such possibilities is the following: forms which were current in popular dialects, – that is, forms current among the non-*śiṣṭa* members of a given region at one period, may receive recognition at a later period from the *śiṣṭas* of that region and be thus given a place in the current expressions of the educated masses. This is a process which is taking place in all linguistic groups; witness, for instance, the evolution of Middle Indo-Aryan into several well-defined regional Prakrit languages like Śauraseni or Māgadhī, with characteristics ultimately derived from the speech habits of the non-*śiṣṭas*, developing a literature of their own. Similarly Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī which may be called popular or vernacular speech forms in opposition to the refined Sanskrit became the regular literary mediums of religious exposition and reached the status of current speech forms.

Thus we see that in the gradual evolution of Indo-Aryan, when one particular dialect reaches to the status of a literary medium as current among the *śiṣṭas*, other dialects current among the common people may be considered as popular speech forms. Now the question of the interrelationship of these two sets is of importance for us in order to evaluate the interaction of the one on the other. While some type of Sanskrit remained throughout the history of Indo-Aryan as the common literary medium, uniting the whole of cultural India, influencing the various regional languages in their entirety, what was the process by which it gradually assumed its classical shape in contradistinction to Vedic, and culminated in the so-called popular Sanskrit seen in the epics, Buddhist and Jaina compositions? And in this process what was the part played by the popular dialects?

Now as regards classical Sanskrit in opposition to Vedic, the first fact to be noticed is the normalising and simplification of morphology; of the different terminations of the various cases several have dropped out; the number of verbal forms undergoes very great reduction, the perfect and aorist types being limited to the indicative mood only; verbs which admit

of stem shiftings, like the nasal presents, root aorists, etc. have a tendency to disappear; similarly the large number of terminations for the infinitives and absolutives undergoes reduction. Everywhere the normalizing process tends to reduce the richness of the Vedic forms. The middle voice extends to whole verbs when the present stem admitted it in the Vedic. Thus there is a double process of restriction and expansion, of conservation and innovation. This double process cannot be ordinarily explained by any single line of development other than on the basis of being influenced by a group of popular dialects which are ultimately derived from the same common source. Thus, for instance, the significance of *vastra* as 'sky' by an extension of analogy with its partial synonym *ambara*, or of *yuddha*- 'a pair' on analogy with *dvandva*- must have some space-time context connected with them. The extension could not have started in the original region where the partial synonyms would be easily recognisable; if we assume, however, that in a region where *ambara*- alone was current at a period when its partial synonym *vastra*- was being introduced, the extension of the synonym to all the remaining significances of *ambara*- could be easily understood and justified in that context. Thus we should have regions, for instance, where *ambara* and *vastra* coincide only in the sense of 'garment', or in some other sense of either *ambara* or of *vastra*, and if our material is sufficiently exhaustive we shall discover the gradual process of this extension. What is possible within the *śiṣṭa* forms current in different regions is possible to a greater extent with popular dialects, for here, in the absence of a literature which can fix the usages in a well defined limit, we shall have a quick process of absorption and development; at the same time, the absence of a normalizing tendency will keep those forms in their pristine purity to a greater length of time than in the case a literary medium.

In this manner we see on the one hand the regularising process, caused by the tendency to economy of effort in all human activities, reducing the original rich morphological nature of Vedic Sanskrit to its classical form, and introducing

rapid changes; but in this process the literary medium draws its inspiration from some definite region at one time or another and the standard refined language derives its chief characteristics from such contributory dialects and regional languages. It is our duty to find out the extent and manner of such changes introduced in the standard language through constant interaction between it and the popular languages which exist beside it in the different regions during the various periods of history.

In my present address it is not possible to work out the main theme of this investigation in all its details. Like Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita I have to declare at this juncture that only leading features are indicated: *diñ-mātram iha darśitam*. Let us then turn our attention to the historical development of Sanskrit from its first appearance downwards. It is well known that Sanskrit belongs to the Indo-European family of languages, and that Primitive I-E. did not possess the cerebral series. Yet even in the language of the R̥gveda the cerebrals have developed completely, while in the Primitive Indo-Iranian period they did not exist. How was this series introduced in Primitive Indo-Aryan? The dental and cerebral series exist also in Dravidian, and the cerebrals also occur in another Indian family, the Kol or Munda. One fact should be noted here: the cerebrals have not been introduced whole-sale in Sanskrit; on the other hand their extension is rather progressive. In the first place cerebrals result from dentals and palatals under certain conditions depending on changes anterior to Sanskrit itself: influence of *ṣ* or **ṣ* and the lateral *r* on the dentals; similarly the palatals *j*, *ś* and *ḥ* as word-finals change to cerebrals; also the cerebral *ṣ* resulting from the other sibilants after an *i* or *u* or *ṛ*. Of these changes the influence of lateral *r* or the vocalic *ṛ* has continued to function within the entire history of certain MI-A. dialects, the cerebralization being particularly noticeable on the Eastern side. We do not know the exact prehistory of the remaining changes: they are anterior to Sanskrit itself; possible influence by Dravidian or Kol in prehistoric times may explain some of these changes; for the interaction of Prearyan and Predravidian has been postulated

for a number of characteristics found in Indian languages today, and I refer you to the work of the same name published by the University of Calcutta some years back. But we can go back from MI-A. to OI-A. on the basis of one tendency at least which has remained active in MI-A.: the cerebralization of dentals in the presence of *r* or *ṛ*: thus Vedic *vikatā-*: *vikṛta-* is paralleled by Sk. *kṛta-*: Pk. *kaḍa-*, *mṛta-*: *maḍa-*, *sṛta-*: *saḍa-* etc. Similarly the dhātupāṭha root *aṭṭate*, *aṭṭayati* is connected with Sk. *ārtta-*, and the BSk. *aṇṭhati* is derived from Sk. *arthate*, and parallel to this we have in Pk. *ṛddhi-*: *iḍḍhi*, *ardha-*: *aḍḍha-* etc. What is the explanation of this phenomenon? We may believe that the process which affected the OI-A. forms sporadically became more regular in the MI-A.; or else we may consider the possibility of certain regional characteristics of popular dialects affecting the standard literary medium to a certain extent only, but affecting the MI-A. idiom developed within those regions in a more regular manner. In fact even the first alternative is, in effect, a modification of the second one. And we shall not be far wrong in assuming this influence at the basis of such double forms as *bhan-* and *bhaṇ-*, *an-*, *aṇ-* in OI-A., the second being made 'current' by the *śiṣṭas* at a later period through borrowing from some influential MI-A. dialect or language. And so far as any form of OI-A. is concerned every MI-A. form is 'popular'. Hence we can treat this primitive aspect of Sanskrit consonantism as a result of the influence of popular dialects on Sanskrit, whether these popular dialects were Aryan or not; moreover the very fact that the cerebral series was not introduced wholesale within Sanskrit at a given period argues in favour of this gradual influence.

Within Sanskrit itself the normalizing process which affected the rich morphological aspect of the Vedic language has been 'selective'; for instance the absolute termination of classical Sk. is *-tvā*, whereas the Vedic *-tvāna* survived only in Pāli and other MI-A. languages regularly. This selective process ordinarily cannot be haphazard; for in such a case, it will not be possible to have a uniform language; and the uniformity with which such selection holds for the whole of classical Sanskrit argues for the space-time context to which I referred in the beginning.

If a certain form current at a particular time in a given region becomes the standard form for the whole of Sanskrit because of certain political or cultural aspects centering round that region, at that period, the process of selection is automatically explained. The remaining forms have local currency and survive in the lineal descendants of such local or regional languages or dialects, while the standardised polished language preserves only the particular form on the selective principle. Thus the development of Sanskrit in its space-time context, when discernible, will throw considerable light on this aspect of interaction between the local mediums and itself. It is still a matter of regret that, notwithstanding more than a century of modern scientific research in the West and East, we are still far from achieving some measure of success in this enquiry which is so vital to our national development. For Sanskrit contains within itself the seeds of unifying Indian culture once again, and by the process of synthesis which it symbolised within itself by fusing the Prearyan and Predravidian cultures into a distinct Indian culture which spread North and East and left its mark on every aspect of life in those regions during the first thousand years after Christ, it is still capable of unifying the divergent tendencies visible today in our country and evolving a cultural unity which may once again bring a new era of spiritual regeneration in the East and the West.

When we consider the popular Sanskrit of the Hindus, Buddhists and the Jainas we notice a similar extension of popular influence exerted by regional or local languages on the standard medium and giving it a new orientation. Whereas Prakrit literature appears to be a purely artificial production, a kind of protestant reaction eschewing completely all forms which might be considered as the refined Sanskrit, these popular idioms with their learned borrowings of loanwords from Sanskrit and partially standardised morphology reflect the actual state of affairs so far as linguistic habits are concerned. It is not with a Gāthā dialect that we have to do here; on the other hand, we notice here, before our very eyes, the process of interaction between a refined standardised speech and the local or current popular dialects, and evolving a mixed idiom where both

standard and local features inter-mingle without consideration of propriety. We are not hedged in here by the steel frame of Pāṇini and his two followers, the *munitrayam* or the triumvirate of sages who built up a noble edifice without considering the cost involved in their efforts to the lifeblood of the language they were hedging in; we are rather in the jungle where all the diverse elements mix and commingle to evolve a new but rich idiom, like the language of the gods seen in the Veda itself, and which has left its lasting impress on all the modern languages of India. It is not my intention to tire you with citations from this idiom to demonstrate the degree of popular influence on Sanskrit. Suffice it to say that you will find an accurate description of the Buddhist Sanskrit idiom in Edgerton's papers published during the past six or seven years; and so far as Epic Sanskrit is concerned work is still being continued in this Institute as well as in the Deccan College and the University of Dacca. This rich interaction between the standard form of Sanskrit with the local varieties of MIA. has given to us a pattern followed by the IA. vernaculars as against the protestant Prakrit languages. For even in the earliest NIA. literature now available to us, we notice the occurrence of Sk. loanwords ranging between 40 to 80 percent of the total expressions used. This close mixture of the two, whether in the MIA. or in the NIA. stage, cannot take place without the one affecting the other. However conservative the authors may be in their approach to Sanskrit, in actual Sanskrit usage they will be influenced by their local idioms. Even editors or redactors revising the Mss. of their authors, are prone to commit such unconscious localisations or provincialisms. We have hundreds of such instances in the local variants recorded, for instance, in the critical edition of the Great Epic published by this Institute.

The tendency of our ancient commentators in Sanskrit is to consider these local variations as unPāṇinian, but they have not dared to oppose them as *āśiṣṭa*; they may be *apāṇiniya* but they can never be *āśiṣṭa*, for following the very argument of Patañjali we may say: *mahān śabdasya prayogaviśayaḥ...etāvantam śabdasya prayogaviśayam ananuniṣṭamya 'santy aprayuktā' iti vacanam kevalam sāhasamātram.* ... Such provincial forms which may be

found in the works of Aśvaghoṣa or Kālidāsa cannot be brushed away as ungrammatical; in fact, where the readings are beyond doubt, they have a unique value for us for studying the later development of Sanskrit. And it is a pity that as yet no sustained effort has been made to study these divergences from the Pāṇinian norm in their space-time evolution. The only recent study which I remember in this direction is that of the Paris scholar, Prof. Louis Renou who, in his monograph on Candragomin's Grammar, arrives at the conclusion that this grammarian has incorporated certain new innovations which have already taken place in Sanskrit subsequent to its standardisation by the famous triumvirate before the 1st century B. C. Our grammarians will generally look with askance at such forms, and it is to the credit of Candragomin that he fearlessly incorporated the features of the language current as it was during his own period in his grammar, and did not slavishly follow his predecessors by merely changing the technical terms and the order of the aphorisms.

As we have observed above, the slow changes in the morphology of Sanskrit have been effected through the selective process exerted by the influence of some important local popular dialect at a period when it assumed some political or cultural importance. To a greater extent, and naturally, the vocabulary of Sanskrit has been modified and extended by such influence. I have indicated elsewhere in great detail, so far as the verbal bases of Sanskrit are concerned, that a large percentage of them have been incorporated into Sanskrit through hypersanskritization of MIA. forms. Moreover a good percentage of the substantives have also been derived in this manner. I shall refer just to one instance of such incorporation, particularly in late Sanskrit, as found recorded in a medieval Sanskrit lexicon: *aṅgoñchaḥ*, *aṅgoñchanam* in the lexicon form indicates 'a towel' and it is derivable either from a Sk. *-ūñchati* 'rubs off', a contamination of *ukṣāti*; *ukṣāte* 'sprinkles' and *uñchati* 'gleans', *prokṣati* 'sprinkles', *proñchati* 'wipes out'; or from MIA. **aṅga-puñchana-* > **aṅga-uñchana-* through hypersanskritisation. This is really a very important process from the point of

view of evolving Sanskrit as a national cultural language of India, for the power of Sanskrit to increase its already rich vocabulary by such hypersanskritisations or even learned borrowings or loanwords from the dialectical material actually current in the land is a fact which favours its adoption as a medium of interprovincial communication and a common language of the country as a whole. For whatever be its present position, it is still the chief source from which the modern vernaculars draw their life blood, and in this sense, according to Prof. S. K. Chatterji, Sanskrit cannot be considered as a 'dead' language in the sense that Latin is 'dead'. And even if we raise it to the status of a national language today, there can be no objection because it is actually the source of Aryan-Dravidian India.

It is interesting to note here that in a Chinese-Sanskrit lexicon composed by Li Yen in the 8th century A. D. we find recorded several Central Asian words like *kurta* 'shirt' as pure Sanskrit words. These lexicons have been edited by Dr. Bagchi of the Calcutta University and their linguistic importance has been indicated in a paper read by Dr. Chatterji at the Tirupati Oriental Conference. I only refer to these works here as indicating the extensiveness of the field of investigation which we have before us in order to understand the influence of popular dialects in the evolution of Sanskrit subsequent to the activities of the Muniraya and in spite of them. Similarly the Greek loanwords in Sanskrit have been discussed by Weber in his paper contributed to the first volume of the *Indian Antiquary* in 1872. Recently Paul Thiele has indicated a number of Persian words which have entered the lexicon of Sanskrit, and even Arabic has contributed a number of important vocables to Sanskrit. Although their number is small, their entry in the language of the gods is significant, and points out to the fact already established above that it has in itself the capacity of still growing and becoming even a more important medium for the dissemination of Indian culture, and perhaps the most powerful instrument of research in the future regeneration of our country.

Another important aspect of Sanskrit vocabulary was brought out by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji during the Baroda session of the Oriental Conference where he discussed the nature of some 'translation compounds.' Thus in, *tuṇḍi-cela* both words indicate the same idea, one being the translation of the other; similarly Sk. *kareṇu* may also be considered as a compound consisting of two members the first of which may be taken as the exact equivalent of the second, indicating an elephant. We may compare the current expression in the local dailies, *daṅgā-mastī* as an even more significant translation compound of a similar type. Thus Sanskrit has introduced a new category in its vocabulary on the basis of popular influence where both members indicate a common idea, but may or may not belong to the same source. Here is an evidence of popular influence which cannot be doubted, and the number of such vocables is increasing in proportion to the advance made in the etymology of Sanskrit vocabulary.

It has been demonstrated with considerable success that many of the new culture words have been borrowed by Sanskrit and Sanskritic languages from Dravidian or Austro-Asiatic. Thus besides the IE. *aśva-* 'horse' Sk. has borrowed a new word *ghoṭa* - or *ghoṭaka* - as early as the 4th century B. C., and one famous ācārya of Kāmasāstra is already known as *Ghoṭakamukha* to Vātsyāyana. Similarly in addition to the Sk. word *iṣṭakā* for brick, attested in Iranian also, Przyluski has demonstrated that the modern IA word for 'brick' in India is ultimately derived from Austro-Asiatic. We may hesitate to accept every conclusion of such great importance to the concept of IA. culture on such slender evidence; but if the evidence accumulates on allied cultural topics we cannot neglect the import of such evidence. The words for plantain, betel leaf, etc. as also the word for 'plough' and 'mustard' seem to have come to Sanskrit through the same source. These are fairly early examples of incorporation by Sanskrit. If the entire history of Sanskrit can be unravelled by research we shall probably find a fairly good percentage of such incorporation.

Thus while Sanskrit has influenced the linguistic, spiritual and cultural life of more than two continents, it has in that

slow but continuous process imbibed within itself traces of such contact, and made its own a large part of the vocabulary and grammatical features. It has itself developed from its original shell and spread its branches all over India and the East, and contributed not a little to European culture of the last three centuries. In this enlargement of its original scope and provenance it has broken from the shackles confining it, by the activities of generations of Indians and outsiders. The extent to which it has been influenced by the popular dialects is itself a measure of the greatness of the language to make small concessions while preserving in-tact all its chief characteristics. It is this aspect of the Indian genius which has kept the torch of Indian civilisation burning for well nigh four thousand years : namely making small concessions which do not affect the genius of the language or the culture but keeping solidly the major aspects of both and thereby influencing the other streams which come into contact with it.

We are today faced with deep problems which are bound to affect the very basis of our existence in this country. It is necessary for us to face them with courage, foresight and patience and unflinching idealism. Sanskrit offers for us the surest medium not only to interpret the solution of many of them, but also to bring together the many divergent elements in a cultural unity which is the precursor of all other solutions ; and just as it succeeded in the ancient past to weld together both Prearyan and Predravidian and bring into existence a unique Indian culture, so also will it develop a new cultural unity which will give to the post-war reconstruction of the world a new orientation. But much work is necessary for the accomplishment of that great purpose ; it is a matter for congratulation that the activity of this Institute is progressively achieving a part of this objective and let me hope that its contribution to the cultural regeneration of our country will be in proportion to the magnitude of its critical edition of the Great Epic.

One such work which is essential for the study of Sanskrit in its space-time context is a new dictionary on scientific

principles and I have written about it in several papers recently contributed to various journals. I am glad to find that there is great activity in learned circles to cooperate whole heartedly in this work of national importance. May this Institute which commemorates the name of an *abhinava Pāṇini*, a veritable ṛṣi, succeed in reviving the spirit of the ancient ṛṣis and help in unifying the present divergent tendencies in a cultural unity, significantly embedded in the central theme of the Great Epic, which shall bring the Kingdom of Heaven upon Earth, and the Song of the Lord to the heart of every living creature.

RĀGHAVA ĀPĀ KHANDEKAR OF PUNYASTAMBHA

- HIS WORKS AND DESCENDANTS

(From A. D. 1750 to 1942)

BY

P. K. GODE, M.A.

Aufrecht makes no mention of an author of the name Rāghava who flourished in Mahārāṣṭra in the latter half of the 18th century and the first quarter of the 19th century. Mr. S. B. Dikshit, however, records some information about him in his *History of Indian Astronomy*¹ but his account is confined to Rāghava's works on *jyotiṣ* only. I propose, therefore, to record in this paper some more information about the family and genealogy of this author together with a description of his works hitherto unknown to the historians of Sanskrit literature.

In the library of the Scindia Oriental Institute² two Mss. of

¹ Pub. at Poona, 1896, pp. 297-298 — I note here some points from Mr. Dikshit's account of Rāghava and his works :—

(1) Rāghava (= R) was the resident of *Parole* in Khāṇḍesh to the South of Tapi river. He also resided at *Puṇyastambha* (*Puṇtāmbe*) in the Ahmadnagar District, where he composed some of his works.

(2) R's surname was *Khāṇḍekar* and his father's name was *Āpāpant*.

(3) He composed the *ganitagranthas* खेटकृति and पञ्चोर्गार्क and a *jātaka-grantha* called पद्धतिचन्द्रिका.

(4) खेटकृति was composed in Śaka 1732 = A. D. 1810.

(5) पञ्चोर्गार्क was composed in Śaka 1739 = A. D. 1817, at *Puṇtāmbe*. He also composed a commentary on it.

(6) पद्धतिचन्द्रिका was completed at *Puṇtāmbe* in Śaka 1740 = A. D. 1818. A commentary on it was composed by आपा गोस्वामि, son of राम, of the surname खिरे. This commentator resided at खेडा village (कृष्णानीरांगत).

² *List of Ujjain Mss*, 1941, p. 44—These Mss were copied in *Saṃvat* 1894 or Śaka 1759 = A. D. 1837. A Ms of खेटकृति dated Śaka, 1738 = A. D. 1816 is available in the B. B. R. A. Society (Ms No. 227—H. D. Velankar's Catalogue).

Rāghava's खेटकृति copied in A. D, 1838 have been deposited recently. Āpāji Raghunath (= Rāghava) Khandekar, the son of Rāghava published a lithograph edition of this work in 1889. Śivarām¹ Āpāji Khandekar, the grandson of Rāghava, showed me a copy of this edition on 10th September 1942 and kept at my disposal some Mss. of the works of Rāghava. As these works are not known to Sanskrit scholars I have thought it advisable to record below some details regarding these Mss, and the information they furnish regarding Rāghava's literary activity towards the close of the rule of the Peshwas in Mahārāṣṭra and the advent of the British Raj in India.

Some years ago Vaidya Śivaram Khandekar published a list of Rāghava's works so far discovered. He has handed over to me a copy of this printed list which records the following works :—

- | | | |
|---------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| (1) खेटकृति | } | published in 1889. ² |
| (2) पंचांगार्क | | |
| (3) पद्धतिचन्द्रिका | | |

(4) कोशावतंस (पूर्वार्ध) प्रथममुच्छ only available. This is a Sanskrit lexicon arranged according to finals. Rāghava illustrates in this lexicon the different meanings of words in self-composed verses of high poetic value. These verses are composed in a variety of metres. The उत्तरार्ध of this lexicon has not yet been available to Vaidya Śivarāmpant, who informs me, however, that some verses from this उत्तरार्ध or द्वितीयमुच्छ of this

¹ Śivarām Āpāji was born on 2nd January 1884. He maintains the tradition of Sanskrit learning established by his grand-father Rāghava. He passed his Matriculation in 1909. He has studied Sanskrit according to shastric methods and has studied Āyurveda also. He has been practising as an Āyurvedic physician at Nasik for several years. He has collected as many Mss of his grand-father's works as he could discover in his family records and elsewhere. At present he is engaged in publishing Rāghava's "कोशावतंस" a lexicon so far unknown to Sanskritists. His Nasik address is :—Khandekar's Wādā, Aditwar Peth (House Nos. 817-818).

² Evidently Mr. S. B. Dikshit in his *History of Indian Astronomy* published in 1896 has made use of these published editions of 1889. Aufrecht (OOL, 321) mentions पद्धतिचन्द्रिका (jyotiṣ) by a son of Vāsudeva (Bikaner 322).

lexicon have been quoted in an edition of the Amarakośa published by the N. S. Press, Bombay. ¹

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (5) अनेकार्थध्वनि मंजरी | (13) ज्ञतश्लोकी (Ms) |
| (6) कृष्णविलासबंध (Ms) | (14) माधवगीतसुधा (Ms) |
| (7) कृष्णार्याशतक (Ms) | (15) श्री विष्णोर्द्वितीयशतक (Ms) |
| (8) वासुदेवार्याशतक (Ms) | (16) देव्यार्यापंचाशती (Ms) |
| (9) सुभाषित आर्या (Ms) | (17) श्री कविकौस्तुभ महाकाव्य |
| (10) आर्या पंचशतिका | (दूषण कथन) ² |
| स्तोत्र (Ms) | (18) श्री महालक्ष्मी स्तोत्र (Ms) |
| (11) योगराजः (Ms) | (19) श्री कृष्णनामाष्टक (Ms) |
| (12) श्री शिवस्याष्टक | (20) श्री गंगाष्टक |

I shall now describe the Mss.³ of some of these works made available to me by Vaidya Khāṇḍekar :--

¹ In spite of financial difficulties Vaidya Khāṇḍekar has succeeded in publishing the प्रथममुच्छ्रुत कोशावतंस, with the help of Shrimant Babasaheb Ghorpade, the Chief Sahab of Ichalkaranji and other patrons of Sanskrit learning in Mahārāṣṭra.

² This is not a work of Rāghava. A Ms of this work belonged to Rāghava and is found in his collection.

It begins :—" श्रीगणेशायनमः ॥ अथ काव्यप्रबंधानां शल्यरूपात्समासतः । दोषान्वक्ष्ये क्रमेणैव पूर्वार्चयः प्रदर्शितान् ॥ १ ॥ "

It ends :—" रघुनाथमुखारविंदतो विगलत्पद्यलसन्मणि स्रजा ।

इति तद्रचयंतु सुंदरं किलकंटाभरणं विपश्चितः ॥ १०७ ॥

॥ ७ ॥ इति श्रीकविकौस्तुभे महाकाव्यकविकलावतंसमनोहरोपनामक कृष्णपंडितसूनु श्री-मल्लिकंभट्टसुरिखत श्रीमद्रघुनाथपंडितकविकृतौ दूषणकथनं नाम द्वितीयं रत्नं ॥ श्री ॥ " —After this the Ms has the following endorsement in different ink :—" ॥ पुस्तकमिदं खांडेकरोपनामक आपाजीपंतात्मजरघुनाथनाम्नः सत्यं । श्रीमत्पुण्यस्तंभक्षेत्रे लिखापितं ॥ श्रीलक्ष्मीवासुदेवार्पणमस्तु ॥ "

³ Dr. R. G. Harshe has described two Mss of the works of Rāghava Āpa Khāṇḍekar in the Gorhe collection of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona (Vide p. 28 of his Cata. of this collection, Poona 1942). These Mss are :—(1) तिथिसारोद्धार by Rāghava (Ms No. 82) which is based on स्मृत्यर्थसार, हेमाद्रि, माधव, निर्णयामृत, निर्णयसिन्धु and स्मृतिर्द्वय as stated by the author in verses 1 and 2 at the beginning of the work ; (2) चन्द्रमहापद्धति (Ms No. 83) or पद्धतिचन्द्रमहा which is an abridgment by Rāghava of his jātakapaddhatis as stated by him in verse 1 at the beginning. In the colophon the work is called पद्धतिचन्द्रिका. राघवभट्ट the author of तिथिसारोद्धार is different from our राघव कवि. Prof. G. V. Devasthali reports a Ms of this work which is dated A. D. 1759 (Śaka 1681).

(1) श्रीमहालक्ष्मी स्तोत्र — (5" × 4¼") folio 3, verses 17.

Begins:—" श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

अमरीकबरामरतरुपुष्पस्रग्धसक्तमधुपीभिः ।

मुखरितमजमुखसुरनुतमिदीव(व)रजानि नमामि पदकंजं ॥ "

Ends:--

" आर्या मणिमयमालां समर्पितां राघवेण यदि देव्याः ।

कंठे कुर्वेदास्यं स्त्रीसुतधनशं समाप्नुयाद्भक्तः ॥ १७ ॥

इति श्रीलक्ष्मीस्तोत्रं संपूर्णं ॥ श्रीजगदंबार्पणमस्तु ॥ छ छ

शके १७४५ सुभानुनामाब्दे ज्येष्ठकृष्णत्रयोदश्यां रवौ खांडिकरोपनाम
वासुदेवात्मज बालकृष्णस्य पुस्तकं ॥ "

(2) अध्यात्मरामायणस्तोत्रः— (one folio 12¾" × 4½" and
another 4½" × 6½") 10 verses.

Begins:—" ॥ श्री ॥ अथ श्रीरामायण स्तोत्रं ॥

गोभारं व्यपनेतुमादिपुरुषः संप्रार्थितो वेधसा

पुत्रत्वेजसुतेन भूरितपसा संयान्वितस्तत्स्त्रियां ।

भूत्वा कौशिकयज्ञरक्षणमथोद्वलपौड्गतिं भूभवो-

द्वाहं भार्गवदर्पनाशमकरोत्तं रामचंद्रं भजे ॥ १ ॥ " ॥ अ. कां. ॥

Ends:—" नवश्लोकमिदं रामचरितं पापनाशनं ।

आविर्भूय हृदंभोजे कृतवान् राघवः स्वयं ॥ १० ॥

श्रीराघवविरचितं मध्यात्मरामायणस्तोत्रं समाप्तं ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ "

(3) शतश्लोकीः— (folios 20, size 7½" × 5¼") 103 verses.

Begins:—" श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीसरस्वतियनमः श्रीलक्ष्मीवासुदेवाय नमः

श्रीगौरीतनयं ससिद्धिमखिलेशान्ब्रह्मकृष्णेश्वरान्

सावित्रीं कमलामुमां स्वपितरौ सूर्यादिखेटान् गुरुन् ।

वागीशां तुलसीप्रवेशसमयद्वैपायनं यः स्मरेत्-

मांगल्येष्वखिलेषु यानसमितौ तस्यास्ति सिद्धिर्भुवा ॥ १ ॥ "

Ends:—" नाधीताः स्मृतयो न शास्त्रमपि नो पौराणि तत्राणि नो

वेदांगं न च कोककाव्यपटुवाक् नो बालभाषागिरिः ।

एवं सत्यपि राघवेण रचिता त्वत्पादभूषा शुभा

त्वन्नामामृतपुष्टया निजगिरा तुष्ट्यै तव श्रीपते ॥ १०२ ॥

ऊहावलं शतश्लोकीं श्रीहरेस्तुतिगर्भितां ।

विलोकयंतु सरला अघमुक्त्यै सुपंडिताः ॥ १०३ ॥ श्री० ॥

श्रीमद्वासुदेवपदपंजरसास्वादनपरैकमानस खांडेकरोपनामक आपासुत-
राघवविरचितशतश्लोकी संपूर्णतामगमत् ॥ तत्र शके १७४३ ॥ कार्तिक कृष्ण ॥
१ मंदे वास्तव्य श्रीगोदातटविलसत्पुण्यस्तंभाभिधे क्षेत्रे ॥ ६ ॥ शुभं भवतु
भीरस्तु ॥ श्रीवासुदेवार्पणमस्तु ॥ ६ ॥ ”

(4) वासुदेवार्था शतकः—folio 12 (8" × 5") verses 101.

Begins:— “ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

रासायासजलाद्रोद्धितकंचुकयंगनाभिराभितोजः ।

आश्लिष्टश्चंदनतरुरिवरेजेत्यतमोकभुजगीभिः ॥ १ ॥ ”

Ends:—

“ नाधीतशास्त्रविस्तर आपासुत राघवो रमाजानेः ।

स्तोत्रं तत्प्रेरणयाकरोत्प्रसन्नोस्त्वनेनभक्तसखा ॥ १०१ ॥

श्रीखांडेकरोपनामकेनापाजीसुतराघवपंतेन विरचितं श्रीवासुदेवार्थाशतकं
स्तोत्रं संपूर्णं ॥ श्रीवासुदेवार्पणमस्तु ॥ शके १७४२ विक्रमाब्दे ज्येष्ठ शु. ॥ ५
गुरौ श्रीमद्गोदातटविलसत्पुण्यस्तंभाभिधे(धे) क्षेत्रे रचितमिदं ॥ ” छ छ

(5) कृष्णार्थाशतकः— folios 12 (8" × 5") verses 104.

Begins:— “ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीसरस्वत्यै नमः ॥ श्रीपल्लिनाथायनमः ॥

विष्णवंशभृगुवरः खलु विद्यार्थो शिष्यतां गतो यस्य ।

तत्सकलसिद्धिदातुभ्रद्रार्थमुपासको न को नामं ॥ १ ॥ ”

Ends:— “ हृदयस्थ वासुदेवो राघवदासं यथैव प्रेरयति ।

स तथा ब्रूवायशतमणिमालां तत्पदे समर्पयति ॥ १०४ ॥

इति श्रीराघवविरचितं श्रीकृष्णार्थाशतकं समाप्तं ॥ ॥

शके १७३९ ईश्वरनामाब्दे मार्गशिर्ष शुद्ध ११ भृगुवासरे तद्दिने इदं आर्या
शतकं समाप्तं ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ श्रीकृष्णार्पणमस्तु ॥ इदं सखारामेण लिखितं
शुभमस्तु ॥ ॥ ॥ ” छ छ छ

(6) श्रीविष्णोः द्वितीयशतकः— folio 16, (7½" × 5½") verses 104.

Begins:— “ श्रीगणेशायनमः ॥ श्रीसरस्वत्यै नमः ॥ श्रीवासुदेवाय नमः ॥

यस्य स्मरणमात्रेण विपत्कोटिशतैरपि ।

आवृतो मुच्यते जंतुस्तं देवं प्रणमाम्यहं ॥ १ ॥ ”

Ends:— “ शतः श्लोकानिमान्पुण्यान् राघवेण विनिर्मितान् ।

यः पठेत्तस्य श्रीविष्णोः प्रसादो भविता ध्रुवं ॥

श्रीमदापापंतामजखांडिकरोपाह्वयराघवकविविरचितं द्वितीयं शतकं समाप्तं ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ शुभं भूयात् ॥ श्रीकृष्णार्पणं ॥ ”

(7) देव्यार्यापंचाशतीः— folio 5, ($7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$) verses 51.

Begins:— “ ॐ ॥ श्री ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

अथ देव्यार्यापंचाशती प्रारंभः ॥

यस्यांघ्रिरजःस्नपनं वाञ्छंतीशादयोपि तस्य हरेः ।

वक्षो मंडनकर्त्री मम कुलधार्त्री श्रीयं नमाम्यनिशं ॥ १ ॥ ”

Ends:— “ आर्यामणिमंजीरः समर्पितो राघवेण पदि देव्याः ।

अस्य कण्ठितं मधुरं श्रुण्वंतु जयेत्सवो बुधाः सरलाः ॥ ५१ ॥

श्रीमदापापुतखांडिकरोपनामराघवेण विरचिता देव्यार्यापंचाशती समाप्ता ॥ श्रीमहाकालीमहालक्ष्मीमहासरस्वत्यर्पणमस्तु ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ ॥ शके १७४५ सुभानुनामाब्दे आश्वि शु. ॥ १० ॥ विजयाख्यायां समाप्तिमगमत् ॥ ”

(8) चतुर्विंशतिनामव्याख्या — folios 4 ($7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$)—26 verses.

Begins:— “ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

श्रीकेशवादिकृष्णांतानां नाम्नां करोमि शुभव्याख्यां ।

आर्यावृत्तां सात्वतप्रीत्यै प्रतिभानुसारतः शुद्धां ॥ १ ॥ ”

Ends:—

“ नामव्याख्यातुलसीमालां मुक्ताधिकां मुभक्तिरसां ।

हरिचरणस्थां राघवकृत्तां के धारयंतु सद्बिबुधाः ॥ २६ ॥

इति केशवादचतुर्विंशतिनामव्याख्या समाप्ता ॥

श्रीपल्लीनार्थार्पणमस्तु ॥ ”

(9) कृष्णनामाष्टक or कृष्णाष्टकः— folios 2, ($8'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$) 9 verses.

Begins:— “ ॐ श्री ॥ श्रीकृष्णाष्टकं लिख्यते ॥

मृगमदशोभितभालं नवधननीलं ब्रजांगनाबालं ।

स्वकथाधर्षितकालं दनुजकरालं नमामि गोपालं ॥ १ ॥ ”

Ends:—

“ मर्दित कालियनागं निखिलासंगं सुरेन्द्रनीलांगं ।

तल्पीकृतीसतभुजगं भक्त्यनुरागं नमाम्यशुभभंगं ॥ ८ ॥

कृष्णनामाष्टकं स्तोत्रं पवित्रं राघवकृतं ।

यः पठेत् तस्य सर्वत्र जायते जयसंपदः ॥ ९ ॥ ”

(10) आर्यापञ्चाशतिका स्तोत्रः— folios 7 (8" × 4½") verses 53.

Begins:— “ ॐ श्री ॥ ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ॐ श्रीलक्ष्मीवासुदेवाभ्यां नमः ॥

आवाह्यांतर्लक्ष्ये शंखगदार्यञ्जपाणिमद्बाभं ।

लक्ष्म्यकं च महोमयगात्रं श्रीवासुदेवमहंमीडे ॥ १ ॥ ”

Ends:—

“ आर्याभिराघवोहावलयार्यारचितरन्तमालांना ।

हरिशेषामिव कंठे कुर्वन्संसारदुर्गमतितरति ॥ ५३ ॥

इति राघवविरचिताऽर्या पञ्चाशतिका स्तोत्रं समाप्तं ॥

श्रीलक्ष्मीवासुदेवार्पणमस्तु ॥ ”

(11) कृष्णविलास (प्रथम सर्ग) — folios 8 (8½" × 5½") verses 56.

Begins:— “ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीलक्ष्मीवासुदेवाभ्यां नमः ॥

श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्रीसरस्वत्यै नमः ॥

एको यस्य रदोहि मातृयुगुलं नेत्रत्रयं बाहव-

चत्वारो जनकश्च पंचवदनो षट्कंधरः सोदरः ।

गंधः सप्तछदेन तुल्यद्वभक्तं चाष्टोरगालं कृतं °

विघ्नध्वांतनिरासतिग्माकिरणं वंदे तमिदुप्रभं ॥ १ ॥ ”

Ends:—

“ संमुग्धव्रजकामिनीजनमनस्तोषप्रदोषस्य वै

शक्रायैर्मुकुटैर्द्रनीलमणिभिः संस्यर्शितं श्रीहरेः ।

स्वर्गगामकरंदतारितजगत् लक्ष्म्यालसत्कंकणं

हस्ताब्जेन सुशोवितं पदयुगं तन्नौमि कल्याणदं ॥ ५६ ॥

इति श्रीलक्ष्मीवासुदेवपादारविंदमकरंदास्वादनपरमानसेन खांडेकरोप-
नामकेन आपाजीपंतात्मज राघवेण विरचिते कृष्णविलासाख्ये काव्ये प्रथमः
सर्गः ॥ श्रीकृष्णार्पणमस्तु ॥ ”

(12) कृष्णविलास (तृतीय सर्ग) folio 6 (8" × 4½")

Begins:— “ श्रीगणराज्ञे नमः ॥ श्रीधराधरैर्द्रनंदिनीशाय नमः ॥

राधासुगन्धमुखारविन्दमधुलिङ्गं नेत्रश्च वेणुं कृष्ण-
 स्रग्वीनेत्र भवांगरागललितो भर्मांगदीकं जट्टक ।
 वियुञ्जेत्र कटिश्च नन्दकगलो वक्रालकावेष्टित-
 प्रोत्फुल्लोत्पलकांति मोषवदनः श्रीकृष्णचन्द्रोवतु ॥ १ ॥ ”

Ends:—

“ वंशोच्चारितशृङ्ग पञ्चमपदे दत्तावधानांगनां
 नेत्रैर्नैव च लक्षिता मधुरिपो राधाप्रफुल्लानने ।
 तिर्यक्लोलसुमौलिचंचललसद्गन्नावतंसस्यैव
 सुगन्धं कंदलिताः शुभं दधतु नः साकूतनेत्रांचलाः ॥ ४३ ॥

इति श्रीलक्ष्मीवासुदेवपादारविन्दमकरंदास्वादनपरमानसेन खांडेकरोप-
 नामकेन आपाजीपंतात्मजराघवेण विरचिते कृष्णविलासाख्ये काव्ये तृतीयः
 सर्गः समाप्तः ॥ ”

(13) कृष्णविलास (चतुर्थ सर्ग) folios 7 (8" × 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ ") verses
 45.

Begins:— “ श्रीविष्णुहर्त्रे नमः । श्रीमाधवोमाधवेभ्यो नमः ॥ श्रीनृहरी
 प्रसन्न ॥

भक्तानामनुरंजनेन जनयन्तोषं सुफुल्लोत्पल-
 श्रेणीकोमलमांसलैरवयवैरुत्पादयन्नुत्सवं ।
 पंचेषो ब्रजकामिनीभिराभितः प्रत्यंगमालिङ्गितः
 क्रीडन्त्यातु स मूर्तिमानिव रसो राशे रमानायकः ॥ १ ॥ ”

Ends:—

“ यत्पद्मीनकतातमस्तकजला पद्मोद्धव क्षेत्रजा
 वृंदामामुखयोषितः सुरतरंगः पुष्पैर्हि संपूजितुं ।
 इच्छन्ति प्रकृतेः परस्य पदकं गोप्यो निजस्वांतज-
 शांत्यै तत्स्तनकोरकेषु निदधुः कृष्णस्य चित्रं महत् ॥ ४५ ॥

श्रीलक्ष्मीवासुदेवपादारविन्दमकरंदास्वादनपरमानसेन खांडेकरोपनामकेन
 आपाजीपंतात्मजराघवेण विरचिते कृष्णविलासाख्ये काव्ये चतुर्थः सर्गः
 समाप्तः ॥ श्रीउमामहेश्वरार्पणमस्तु ॥ ”

(14) माधवगीतसुधा—folios 29 (9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " × 5")

(1) प्रथम सर्ग—verses 48

Colophon on folio 6—“श्रीमाधवगीतसुधायां सामोददामो-
 दरो नाम प्रथमः सर्गः ”

- (2) द्वितीय सर्ग—verses 23

Colophon on folio 8—" श्रीमाधवसुधायां द्वितीयः सर्गः "

- (3) तृतीय सर्ग—verses 14

Colophon on folio 10—" इति श्रीमाधवगीतसुधायां सुग्ध-
मधुसूदनो नाम तृतीयः सर्गः "

- (4) चतुर्थ सर्ग—verses 21

Colophon on folio 12—" श्री माधवसुधायां स्निग्धमाधवा-
ना(म) चतुर्थः सर्गः "

- (5) पंचम सर्ग—verses 21

Colophon on folio 14—" श्रीमाधवसुधायां साकांक्षपुंडरीको
नाम पंचमः सर्गः "

- (6) षष्ठ सर्ग—verses 9

Colophon on folio 15—" श्रीमाधवसुधायाः सात्कण्ठवकुण्डो
नाम षष्ठः सर्गः "

- (7) सप्तम सर्ग—verses 34

Colophon on folio 18—" श्रीमाधवसुधायां नागरनारायणो
नाम सप्तमः सर्गः "

- (8) अष्टम सर्ग—verses 12

Colophon on folio 20—" श्रीमाधवगीतसुधायां विलक्षलक्ष्मी-
पतिर्नामाष्टमः सर्गः "

- (9) नवम सर्ग—verse 8

Colophon on folio 21—" श्रीमाधवसुधायां सुग्धमधुसूदनो
नाम नवमः सर्गः "

- (10) दशम सर्ग—verses 17

Colophon on folio 22—" श्रीमाधवगीतसुधायां मानिनी-
वर्णनं नाम दशमः सर्गः "

- (11) एकादश सर्ग—verses 13

Colophon on folio 25—" श्रीमाधवसुधायां सानंदगोविंदो
नामैकादश सर्गः "

- (12) द्वादश सर्ग—verses 30

This poem in 12 cantos contains in all 250 verses.

The Ms Begins :--

"श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीसरस्वत्यै नमः ॥ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्रीमहालक्ष्म्यै
नमः ॥ श्रीवासुदेवाय नमः ॥ श्रीपद्मिनाथाय नमः ॥

मेघैर्मेदुरमंबरं वनभुवः इयामास्तमालद्रुमैः
नक्तं भीरुरयं त्वमेव तदिदं राधे गृहं प्रापय ।
इत्थं नंदनिदेशतश्चलितयोः प्रत्यध्वकुंजद्रुमं
राधामाधवयोर्जयंति यमुनाकुले रहः केलयः ॥ ”

This is the first verse of Jayadeva's *Gītāgovinda*. It is followed by three more verses. The poet then states his method and purpose in writing this Kāvya :—

“ विम्लेशं वागीशां श्रियं च तत्स्वामिनं शिवं व्यासं ।
पितरौ गुरुन् कविवरान् क्षेत्राधीशान् जयार्थमभिवंदे ॥ ५ ॥
श्रीरमणचरणनलिनां मृतधारापानपूतद्वद्रसनः ।
सोहं राघयनामाखिलरसमूर्तिं रसेन नौमि हरिं ॥ ६ ॥
गीतानां जयदेवोक्तानामार्यास्तदर्थरसललिताः ।
स्वरतालान्नार्याणां सुखायगीतिः करोमि हरितुष्ट्यै ॥ ७ ॥
गीतानुसारेण दशावताररूपिणं श्रीकृष्णं राघवस्तौति ॥ ”

The Ms ends :—

“ हरिचरणामृतनिर्मितकलिकल्मषतापखंडने ललिते ।
खांडिकरोपनामकराघववचने कुरुष्व ह्रस्वदयं ॥ ३७ ॥
रचयकुचयोश्चित्रं पत्रं करेण कपोलयो-
र्घटय जघने काचमिंचयस्रजाकबरीभरं ।
रचय वलय श्रेणीं पाणौ पदे कुरु नूपुरा-
निति निगदितः प्रीतः पीतांबरौपि तथा करोत् ॥ ३८ ॥
पर्यंकीकृत नागनायकफणा श्रेणीमणीनां गणे
संक्रांतं प्रतिबिंबसंकननया विभ्रद्वपुर्विक्रियां ।
पादांभोरुहधारिवारिधिसुतामक्ष्णां दिदृक्षुः शतैः
कायव्यूहमिवाचरन्नुपचिताकूतो हरिः पातु वः ॥ ३९ ॥
यद्वांधर्वकलासु कौशलमनुध्यानं च यद्वैष्णवं
यच्छृंगाराविवेकतत्त्वरचना काव्येषु लीलायितं ।
तत्सर्वं जयदेवपांडितकवेः कृष्णैकतानात्मनः
स्वछंदं परिशोधयंतु सुधियः श्रीगीतगोविन्दतः ॥ ३० ॥

श्रीलक्ष्मीवासुदेवपादारविंदमकरंदास्वादनपरमानसेन खांडिकरोपनामकेन
आपाजीपंतात्मज राघवेण विरचिते माधवसुधायां द्वादशः सर्गः ॥ ६ ॥ ॐ
श्री ॥ ६ ॥ ”

(15) सुभाषित आर्या— folios 34, ($7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$) verses 330.
Ms is incomplete.

Begins:—

“ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

यद्गंडाभित्तिगलितप्रमदादनवद्धकंठकाः मधुपाः ।

उत्तंसस्थेदुकलां पिबति वोसौ गणाधिपः पातु ॥ १ ॥ ”

Ends—

“ केसरिपत्राचंडीशिख्युंदुरुगौसुतावहं वृषगः ।

भालाक्षिर्गंगाकोहिगलस्तस्माश्मशानवासीस्यां ॥ ३० ॥

On folios 10-11 our poet possibly refers to Peshwa Bajirao II of Poona in the following verse :—

“ को यान प्रवराश्च साधुभिरपि स्वीयार्थसंसाधने

के पूज्याः प्रभुसंमिती च नितरां के वर्जनीया जनैः ।

के मान्याः परमार्थसाधनपरैर्हेयाश्च काः केथवा

बाजीराजसभासदो बुधनरो भट्टाः स्त्रियः कामुकाः ॥ १०१ ॥ ”

Our poet was a contemporary of Peshwa Bajirao II. He was a highly religious person and consequently entertained some contempt for the contemporary Pandits at Bajirao's court as will be seen from the last two lines of the above stanza which state that spiritually inclined persons (परमार्थसाधनपरैः) should avoid (हेयाः) the court Pandits of Bajirāj (बाजीराजसभासदः) and amorous women (स्त्रियः कामुकाः).

(16) सुभाषित आर्या (in Marathi) folios 8 ($7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$).
verses (55 + 5)

Begins:— “ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

कमलसखा कुमुदारि सूर्यशशी यांस होतसे उलटा ।

सर्वांस इष्ट होईन या बुद्धिचा भरांतुनि उलटा ॥ १ ॥ ”

Ends on folio 8:—

विषयी चिंती स्त्रीला स्वप्नी चिंती न रामचंद्राला ।

तस्कर बांछी तिमिरा नेछी कुलटा त्रिरामचंद्राला ॥ ५५ ॥

इतै राघवकुत आर्या समाप्त ॥ श्रीशुभं भवतु ॥ श्रीलक्ष्मीनृसिंहार्पणमस्तु ॥ ”

छ छ छ

folio 8—ॐ ॥ श्री ।

उदरीं नैवेद्य मुखीं नाम हृदई रूप मस्तकी तुळशी ।

नियमें करिशी तरि हरि पार्षदमुख्यां समान तूं तुळसी ॥ १ ।

... ..

जेथ सभासद हृदई सुकृतदयेचा असे न ओलावा ।

सुहें तेथ न जावें गेला तरि शब्द ही न बोलावा ॥ ५ ॥

In the *āryā* 5 above the poet states that a wise man should not visit a royal court where the courtiers are absolutely devoid of the moisture of human kindness and in case he visits such a court he should not utter a single word. This general advice seems to contain a criticism of Bajirao's courtiers, who must have been apathetic to our poet. Rāghava, though learned, was highly religious and as such was not perhaps well received at the court of Bajirao II, who is referred to in the following *āryās* of this work :—

folio 2—“ गपी टाकुनि आले पैका खाउनि बाजिरायाला ।

या कर्माने देईल इश्वर तरि काय बाजरा यला ॥ १३ ॥

पापदयसनी त्यांचा गुरुजि कसा पापपुंज सरवाल ।

बाधक तो साधूला जेवि कुपथ्यांत अग्रसर वाल ॥

दुष्टाकडुन गुरुजी सदाचरण तरि कशा न करवाल ।

आप्तपरा नेणे तीक्ष्ण मलिन कठिन जेवि करवाल ॥ १५ ॥ ”

Perpaps these verses contain a criticism of a *guru* (गुरुजि) of Bajirao Peshwa. This *guruji* was not evidently virtuous as his पापपुंज or treasure of sins is referred to by our poet. Perhaps the following *āryā* on folio 7 contains a criticism of Bajirao's character :—

“ अंध पति असतां सग मृगाक्षि शृंगार जातसे वायां ।

तैसा जड भूप नव्हे योग्य कुशल बुधजनास सेवायां ॥४७॥ ”

When the husband is totally blind the amours of a deer-eyed lady are in vain; in the same manner when the king is stupid or unintelligent, clever and wise persons should not serve him, as he is unfit for such purpose. Students of Maratha history may perpaps be able to throw some light on the relation of our poet to Bajirao's courtiers and the reason why he entertained no respect for them.

(17) सुभाषित आर्याः— folios 40 (7" × 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ") verses 381.

Begins:— “ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ॐ ॥ श्री ॥

यद्वृण्डभित्तिगलितप्रमदादनबद्ध कंठका मधुपाः ।

उत्तंसस्थेदुक्कलां पिबन्ति यो सौ गणाधिपः पातु ॥ १ ॥ ”

Ends— on folio 40^a

“ आरोहति चरणहता जडापि धूलिः सखे यथा शिरसि ।

किं न भवति मनुजानामतिक्रमादिह परत्र फलमेवं ॥ ८१ ॥ ”

This anthology is identical with that described above under No. 15 but contains some additional verses. The verse (No. 101) containing a reference to बाजीराज सभासदः appears as No. 97 in this Ms and reads as follows :—

folio 11 — “ को या न प्रवरश्च साधुभिरपि स्वीयार्थ संसाधने ।

के पूज्याः प्रभुसंमितौ च नितरां के वर्जनीया जनैः ।

के मान्याः परमार्थसाधनपरैर्हेयाश्च का केथवा ।

बाजीराजसभासदो बुधनराभट्टाः स्त्रियः कामुकाः ॥ ९७ ॥ ”

Occasionally some *non-Sanskrit* verses are inserted by the poet in this anthology. The following specimen I am unable to understand :—

folio 14—“तिर्बाट्टतुनापोरयाबरपणयाले शिकाढज सुदाइ ।

ह्यां पोरिसनें रगडसचारा ह्वावया लेकालथिन गाइ ॥ २७ ॥ ”

(18) योगराज — folios 6 (8" × 5") verses 63.

Begins:— “ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीलक्ष्मीबासुदेवाभ्यां नमः ॥

यद्भासा भात्यदो विश्वं ज्योतिषां ज्योतिरेव सत् ।

केवलं तु स्वयं ज्योति र्यः पश्यति नमामि तं ॥ १ ॥ ”

Ends:—“दानभजनयज्ञतपोपुराणनिगमार्चनात्मयोगजपाः ।

ईशप्रीत्यै च कृताः सर्वस्युर्मुक्तिसाधकानियमान् ॥

अनुभूय परं तत्त्वं राघवकविना कृता इमाह्वार्याः ।

भूयात्तत्त्वानुभवो भक्त्याऽभ्यसतां हि योगराजममुं ॥ ६३ ॥ ”

It appears from a perusal of this work that our poet had become thoroughly Vedāntic in his spiritual views, when he composed the work.

(19) रोगावलिजातक— folios 11 ($6\frac{3}{4}$ " \times $4\frac{1}{4}$ ") verses are not numbered.

Begins:— “ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीसरस्वत्यै नमः ॥

ॐ श्रीलक्ष्मीवासुदेवाभ्यां नमः ॥

अथ जातकाभिप्रायेण रोगोत्पत्तिः ॥ अथ ज्वरे ॥

निचस्थितस्याब्जपतेर्दशा तु

शिरोरुजं नेत्रगदं प्रकृष्टं ।

कुष्ठं ज्वरं बन्धनमेव कुर्यात्

क्षीणस्य चंद्रस्य दशापि तद्वत् ॥ ”

Ends:— “ अथ विषदोषे ॥

षष्ठाष्टमे यथा चंद्रो बुधयुक्तश्च तिष्ठति ।

विषदोषेण बालस्य तदा मृत्युश्च जायते ॥ १ ॥

इति रोगावलिजातकं समाप्तं ॥ श्रीकृष्णार्पणमस्तु ॥ ”

The name of the author is not found in the Ms of the work described above.

(20) वासुदेवाष्टक— 9 verses copied from the original Ms by Vaidya S. A. Khandekar.

Begins— “ ॐ श्रीवासुदेवाष्टकं ॥ श्रीं ॥

ध्वजपविकमलांकुशादि चिन्हैः

सुललितमुच्चनखं हरेः पदाब्जम् ।

सकृदपि हृदि चिंतितं तु येन

न स भवती न सुतक्षयं प्रगता ॥ १ ॥ ”

Ends:—

“ वासुदेवाष्टकं रम्यं राघवेण विरच्य वै ।

अर्पितं तत्पदे तेन प्रीयतां कमलापतिः ॥ ९ ॥ ”

Besides the above Mss of Rāghava's works made available to me by Vaidya S. A. Khandekar he showed me a sheet of paper

(18" × 6") containing the आधानकुंडली¹ of राघोपंत खांडेकर who is identical with राघवकवि खांडेकर. The details of the date pertaining to the आधानसमय recorded in this document give us *Friday, 14th April 1758* as the time of conception (or आधान). Rāghava Kavi must have been born in *December 1758* or so if the आधान कुंडली referred to above is correct. At any rate his birth date is not much removed from A. D. 1758. I shall now record below the chronology of his works and their copies :—

A. D.	Saka	Particulars R=Rāghava Āpā Khāṇḍekar
1758	1680	Birth of <i>R.</i>
1800	1722	<i>R</i> about 42 years old.
1803	1725	A Ms ² of नीलकंठी ज्योतिषप्रकरणम् copied at चिकणग्राम and belonged to <i>R.</i>
1804	1726	A Ms ³ of नीलकंठी फलश्रुतिप्रकरण copied by <i>R.</i>
1810	1732	<i>R</i> composed खेटकृति— <i>Ujjain</i> Ms of A. D. 1837; <i>BBRAS</i> Ms of A. D. 1816.
1817	1739	<i>R</i> composed पंचांगार्क; Ms of कृष्णार्पाशतक by <i>R.</i>
1818	1740	<i>R</i> completed his पद्धतिचंद्रिका at <i>Puntāmbē</i> .
1820	1742	Ms of वासुदेवार्पाशतक by <i>R.</i>
1821	1743	Ms of शतश्लोकी by <i>R.</i>
1823	1745	Ms of महालक्ष्मी स्तोत्र by <i>R</i> belonging to बाळकृष्ण वासुदेव खांडेकर.
1823	1745	Ms of देव्यार्पापंचाशती by <i>R.</i>

¹ This कुंडली reads as follows :—“ श्रीगणपतये नमः ॥
.....अथ स्वस्ति श्रीमन्पुत्रशालिवाहन शके १६८० बहुधाभ्यनामसंवत्सरे उद्गम्यते वसंतर्तौ
चैत्रे मासि शुक्लपक्षे सप्तम्यां तिथौ ७ शुक्ले घटी ५२ प. १४ आर्द्रा नक्षत्रे घटी ६ प. १३ सुकर्मा
योगः घटयः ५० पलानि १२ तात्कालिकं गरकरणं एवं पंचांगशुद्धौ श्रीसूर्योदयद्वत घटी १५ पलानि
३८ तत्समये कर्कलगे कन्याशे वहमाने राजश्रियाविराजमानराजश्री राघोपंत खांडेकर तेषां
आधानसमयः ॥ etc. ॥ ”

² Vide pp. 26-27, *Des. Cata. of Gorhe Collection* by Dr. R. G. Harshe (Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, 1942) — *Ms No. 78*.

³ Ibid. *Ms No. 79*.

6 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

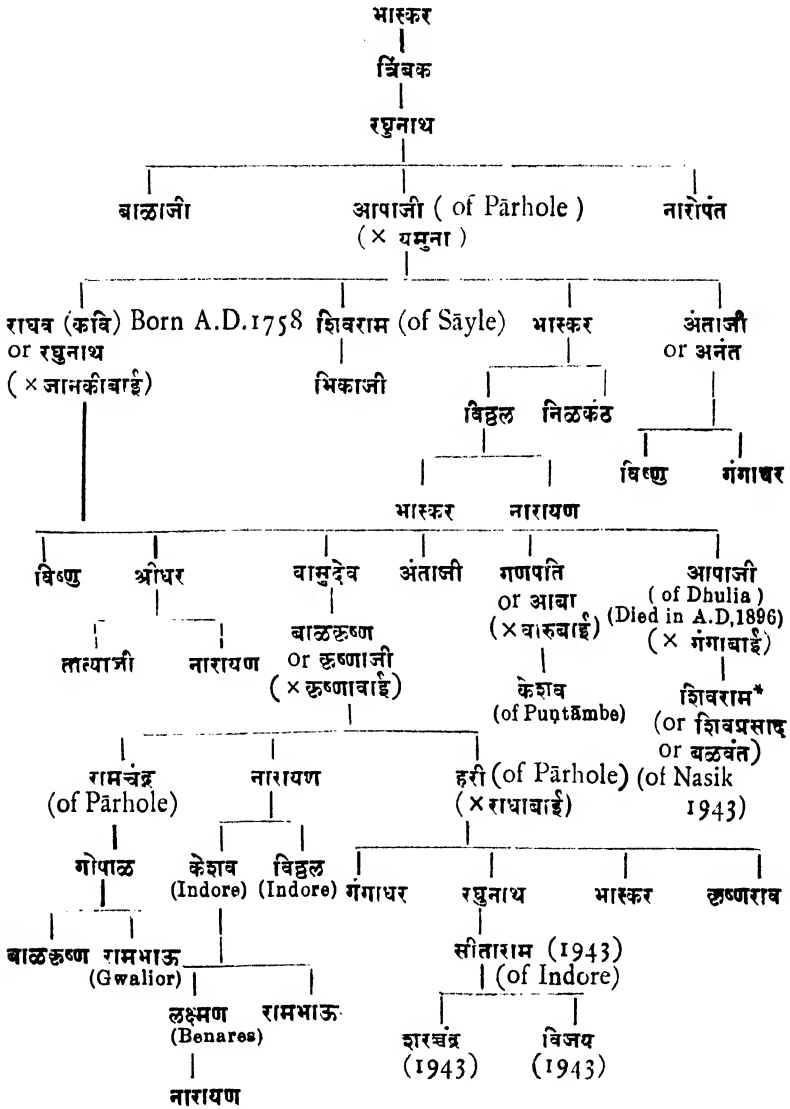
If A. D. 1758 is the date of Rāghava's birth he must have been about 60 years old when he composed in A. D. 1818 his पद्धतिचंद्रिका at *Puṇtūmbe* in the Ahmadnagar District. Presuming, therefore, that he lived about 20 years more we get about A. D. 1838 or 1840 as the later limit to his life-period.

Vaidya Śivarāmpant Khāṇḍekar tells me that he is the grandson of Rāghava Āpā Khāṇḍekar born in A. D. 1758 and that he himself was born in A. D. 1884. This statement results in greater longevity for both the father and the grand-father of Śivarāmpant than what we generally assign to each individual. We have to accommodate between A. D. 1758 and 1942 (a span of 184 years) three individuals, one of which is now 58 years old.

APPENDIX

Genealogy of Rāghava Kavi Khāṇḍekar

(Between 1758 and 1943 A. D.)



* I am thankful to Vaidya S. A. Khandekar for giving me the above Genealogy of Rāghava Kavi Khāṇḍekar for publication.

—P. K. Gode,

Family Deity--“ श्रीमहाकालीमहालक्ष्मीमहासरस्वतीपद्मिनाथप्रमुखपंचायतनकुल-
देवताभ्यो नमोनमः ”

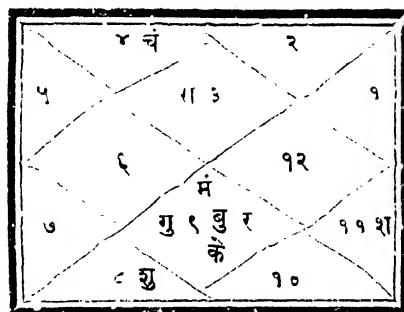
Native Place—Originally this Khandekar family belonged to *Sāyale* in the Sangameshwar Taluka of the Ratnagiri District of the Bombay Presidency. Then some of its members migrated to *Pārhole* (Dist. Khandesh) and *Puntāmbe* (Dist. Ahmadnagar)

Gotra etc. — “ ऋग्वेदांतर्गतअश्वलायनसूत्रशाकलशाखाध्यायीगार्ग्यगोत्रोपन्यस्य
खांडेकर इत्युपाह्वयः ”

Birth date of Rāghava Kavi :--Sunday, 17th December 1758.

Horoscope (जन्मलग्नकुंडली) :— “ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ स्वस्ति श्री शके १६८८
बहुधान्य नाम संवत्सरे मार्गशीर्ष व. ३ रविवसरे etc. ”

This horoscope
is in the hand-
writing of
Rāghava Kavi
himself.



DEVAYĀNA AND PITRYĀNA

BY

H. G. NARAHARI

What has been commonly accepted as the chief text¹ of the doctrine of Transmigration admits of two natural divisions,² the one part dealing with the 'five fires' and the other with the 'two ways'; while according to the former theory, *śraddhā* seems to be primarily responsible for the Soul's return to earth, it is this alone that, according to the latter, leads to *Brahman* without return; the former theory appears to assume the absence of any recompense in the other world for, according to it, the Soul, after having journeyed to Heaven, returns almost immediately, to a new existence through the five transitory stations—heaven, atmosphere, earth, father and mother; but, to the latter, while those traversing through the northern path of the Sun reach *Brahman*, not to return to earth again, those that go through the southern path go to the Moon, stay there till their deeds permit and return to earth by the very way through which they went up.

The 'doctrine of the two ways' which is essentially based on the conception that, at death, it is only the body that is destroyed and that the Soul continues its existence to reap the consequence of its deeds, speaks of two ways,³ the way of the gods

¹ *Ch. Up.*, V. 10. 5 ff.; the same occurs in the *Br. Up.* (VI. 2. 6 ff.) with minor variations and in a somewhat briefer form.

² Deussen (*Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*, p. 333) makes a chronological distinction between these two parts, and would call that teaching the doctrine of the 'five fires' as the earlier portion, and the other as the later. The *Nirukta* (XIII. 19 ff.) makes a curious jumble of these two parts in the course of its account of the doctrine of Transmigration.

³ cp. *Bhagavadgītā*, VIII, 24 ff, where distinction is made between those that die in the *uttarāyaṇa* (northward course of the Sun) and those that die during *dakṣiṇāyaṇa* (southward course of the Sun). The story in the *Mahābhārata* (XI. 119-96 ff.) that *Bhīṣma* waited till *uttarāyaṇa* to breathe his last is based on the same conviction.

(*Devayāna*) and the way of the fathers (*Pitryāna*) ; those who know the doctrine of the five fires (*pañcāgnividyā*) or who meditate with faith upon *Satya* are the people who are privileged to travel by the former path which leads them to the gods or to the Absolute *Brahman* ; when, at death, their body is burnt on the pyre, the Soul enters the flame, then the day, the bright-half of the month, the six months when the Sun moves northward, the year,¹ the Sun, the Moon, the lightning, and finally, led by a superhuman person (*amānavaḥ puruṣaḥ*), *Brahman*, never more to return to earth ; but those whose merit consists only in the performance of philanthropic acts like sacrifice (*yajña*), bounty, (*dāna*), and penance (*tapas*) have to travel, at death, by the other path ; their Soul first enters the smoke of the pyre, then the night, the dark-half of the month, the six months when the Sun moves southward, the world of the Fathers (*pitṛloka*) in lieu of the year, the ether and finally the Moon which is the final destination for these Souls and not a mere stage of transit as in the previous case. Here the departed Souls remain for a time enjoying the rewards of their good deeds in company with the *pitṛs*. This enjoyment lasts only as long as the store of Karma permits, and after that is exhausted they return to earth by the very path through which they went up. After regaining the state of smoke, they get the form of mist, then cloud, rain, plants and food. The remaining stages which finally bring about the rebirth are very difficult, for this can happen only when they are eaten as food and emitted as seed into the womb, and the quality of their birth also depends on the nature of their conduct in their previous existence ; those of good conduct are reborn as a brahman, or a kṣatriya or a vaiśya as the degree of the virtue allows, and those of stinking conduct are reborn as a dog, or a hog, or as an outcast (*caṇḍāla*).²

¹ According to the *Br. Up.* (VI. 2. 15), after the soul passes through the six months during the northward course of the Sun, it enters the world of the gods (*devaloka*), then the Sun and the lightning fire. A person consisting of mind (*mānasaḥ*) enters these regions of lightning, and conducts the Soul to the world of *Brahma* where it stays forever.

² *Ch. Up.*, V. 10. 7 ; the *Br. Up.* omits to make this distinction among
(continued on the next page)

We will now see how much of this Upaniṣadic doctrine of the 'two ways' was familiar to the Rgvedic Aryans. The word *Devayāna* occurs *thirteen* times in all in the different cases. *Sāyaṇa* understands the word in *two* broad senses; either it means the sacrificial offering which is intended for the gods¹ or which leads the devotee to the gods;² or the path which leads to the gods,³ or by which men travel to meet the gods,⁴ or by which the gods travel to secure the offerings of their worshippers.⁵ *Grassmann* understands the word only in *two* senses. His meanings⁶ run thus: (1) *Zu den Göttern seinen Gang nehmend* (affording the journey to the gods); (2) *den Göttern zum Gange dienend* (serving the gods in their journey). But *Roth* and *Bohtlingk* understand the word exactly in the same way as

(continued from the previous page)

the Souls returning from the Moon. The *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* (I. 2 ff.) seems to reconcile the two Upaniṣads when it makes all Souls go first, without exception, to the Moon. There the Souls are judged and, according to the result, they go either by the *Devayāna* which leads to *Brahman* without return, or take up a new birth 'of a worm, or a fly, or a fish, or a bird, or a line, or a boar, or a serpent, or a tiger, or a man, or something else; cf. *Socrates* who remarks in the *Phaedo* that those who on earth have followed after gluttony and wantonness and drunkenness, without the least thought of avoiding them, would pass after death into asses and animals of that sort, and those following injustice, tyranny and violence into wolves, hawks or kites, while those practising virtues like temperance and justice pass into some gentle and social kind like their own, such as bees or wasps or ants, or back again into the form of man (*Jowett, Dialogues of Plato*, II. 225 ff.).

¹ I. 162. 4.

² X. 181. 3.

³ VII. 76. 2.

⁴ VII. 38. 8; X. 51. 2 & 5; 98 11.

⁵ I. 72. 7; 183. 6; 184. 6; IV. 37. 1; V. 43. 6; X. 18. 1.

⁶ *Wörterbuch zum Rgveda*, p. 635; the following explanatory note is added at the end of the second of these meanings: *von den wegen auf denen sie vom Himmel herabkommen und zu ihm hinaufsteigen, und die daher auch der einzuschlagen hat, der zu ihnen hinauf will*. According to this note, the second meaning is given about the paths by which they (gods) come down from Heaven and go up to it, and which, therefore, he too who desires to go up to it (Heaven) has to tread.

Sāyana when they interpret¹ the word to mean (1) *Zu den Göttern gehend, strebend*; (2) *Göttern zum Wandel, Verkehr, Aufenthalt dienend*; so heissen namentlich die pfade, auf welchen die himmlischen herniederstoeigen, opfer zu ihnen gelangen, überhaupt der Verkehr zwischen Himmel und Erde geht; (3) *der zu den Göttern führende Weg*.

The word *Pitṛyāna* occurs but *once* in the *Rv.*; the following verse (X. 2. 7) gives the context;

Yam tvā dyāvāprthivī yam tvāpas tvaṣṭā yam tvā sujanimā
jajāna ।

Panthām anu pravidvān pitṛyānam dyumad agne
samidhāno vi bhāhi ॥

In this verse, Agni who has been engendered by Heaven and Earth, by the Waters, by *Tvaṣṭr*, by the glorious Creator, and who is cognisant of the path, the road of the *pitṛs*, is requested to shine brilliantly on being kindled. *Sāyana* translates the word *pitṛyāna* which occurs in the third quarter of this verse to mean 'the path by which the Fathers travel'. *Grassmann* follows *Sāyana* when he also interprets² the word to mean 'the path by means of which the spirits of ancestors move' (*von den Geistern der Ahnen betreten*). So do Roth and Bohtlingk when they take³ the word in the sense of 'that by which the manes travel' (*von den Manen betreten*).

Keith seems to base his conclusion entirely on the evidence of the three meanings of *Devayāna* mentioned above when he remarks⁴ that "the *Devayāna*, originally in the *Rgveda* the path by which the sacrifice of a man was borne to the gods or by which they came for it, and by which on death he joined the Fathers and the gods in Heaven, is transformed into the path by which the Soul goes to the gods or to the Absolute". But there are evidences in the *Rgveda* itself to show that the seers knew something more about the "two paths" than they are usually considered to know. The *Devayāna* is described as *lustrous* in the following verses :

¹ *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, III, 753.

² *op. cit.*, p. 815.

³ *op. cit.*, IV, 719; cf. A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 171.

⁴ *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 575.

Pra me panthā devayānā adr̥śrann amardhanto vasubhir
iṣkr̥tāsah |

Abhūd u ketur uśasah purastāt pratīcy agād adhi
harmyēbhyah ||¹

Ko mā dadarśa katamaḥ sa devo yo me tanvo bahudhā
paryapaśyat |

Kvāha mitrāvarupā kṣiyanty agner viśvāḥ samidho
devayāniḥ ||²

Ehi manur devayur yajñākāmo 'ramkr̥tyā tamasi kṣeṣy
agne |

Sugān pathaḥ kṛṇuhi devayānān vaha havyāni
sumanasyamānaḥ ||³

In the first-half of the first verse, the seer says that he has beheld the paths leading to the gods (*devayāna*), innocuous and glorious with light (*vasubhir iṣkr̥tāsah*). In the second-half of the second verse, Agni is made to ask Mitra and Varuṇa if there exist any people who have seen his manifold forms which serve as the luminous vehicle of the gods (*samidhaḥ devayāniḥ*). In the second and third quarters of the last verse, the fully lustrous Agni is requested to make straight the paths traversed by the gods (*aramkr̥tyā tamasi kṣeṣy agne sugān pathaḥ kṛṇuhi devayānān*), thereby suggesting that he should illumine those paths which on account of their darkness are otherwise hard to cross.

These passages clearly point out that the Rgvedic seers were fully conversant with the idea that the *Devayāna* is 'lustrous'. In the Upaniṣads we find, as noticed already,⁴ that the 'brightness' of this path is specially emphasized in contrast with the other which is always associated with darkness. When, therefore, we see that the Rgvedic seers are already aware of this conception, the conclusion is obvious that this idea is not the creation of the Upaniṣadic period but was adopted from earlier times.

¹ VII. 76. 2.

² X. 51. 2.

³ X. 51. 5.

⁴ *Supra*, pp. 45 ff.

⁷ [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]



That these seers are familiar also with the Upaniṣadic idea that the *Devayāna* is the path of the immortals, and that one who would attain to the world of gods or to immortality must pass through Agni, becomes clear on examination of the following passages from the Rv. :

Param mṛtyo anu parehi panthām yas te sva itaro
devayānāt ।

Cakṣuṣmate śrṇavate te bravāmi mā naḥ prajāṃ rīriṣo
mota vīrān ॥ ¹

Etāny agne navatiṃ sahasrā saṃ pra yaccha vṛṣṇa Indrāya
bhāgam ।

Vidvān pathā ṛtuṣo devayānān apy aulānaṃ divi deveṣu
dhehi ॥ ²

Vidvān agne vayunāni kṣitīnām vyānuṣak śurudho
jīvasa dhāḥ ।

Antarvidvān adhvano devayānān atandro dūto abhavo
havirvāt ॥ ³

In the first verse⁴, Death is asked to depart differently through a path which is its own (*yaḥ te svaḥ*) and distinct from the path of the gods (*itaro devayānāt*). We see here already the Upaniṣadic idea that mortality has nothing to do with the *Devayāna* and that to traverse by it is to attain to immortality. In the second verse, Agni is credited with the knowledge of the path of the Gods and is requested to place *Aulāna* in Heaven among the gods. This is a clear anticipation of the Upaniṣadic conception that the Soul whose merit allows it to pass through *Devayāna*, first enters the flame of the pyre (*agni*) on its way to the world of *Brahman*. *Aulāna* (*Śantanu*) may be construed as the typical human being in Rgvedic India whose merit entitled him to

¹ X. 18. 1.

² X. 98. 11.

³ I, 72. 7.

⁴ According to R. D. Ranade (*Constructive Survey of Upanishadic Philosophy*, p. 159 n.), the *Devayāna* which is mentioned in this verse has the same sense as in the Upaniṣads, and the path which is described here as 'different from' that of the gods must be only the way of the Fathers i. e. *Pitṛyāna*.; op. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

share Heaven, the world of the Gods, and who could be enabled to achieve his reward only through the agency of Agni i. e. after his body was cremated at death on the funeral pyre. The third quarter of the last verse is taken by *Sāyana* to mean that Agni is conversant with the path of the gods (*devayāna*) which lies between Heaven and Earth (*dyāvapṛthivyor madhye jānan adhvanah mārgaṁ ... devayānūn devā yāir mārgair gacchanti tūn jānann ityarthah*). If *Sāyana*'s interpretation here is acceptable,¹ this verse can be taken as an additional evidence to show that the Ṛgvedic seers knew, long before the Upaniṣadic age, that the *Devayāna* leads to the world of the Gods i. e. Heaven.

There remain now for consideration those words in the Rv. which are frequently employed in that *Saṁhitā* to denote 'a path' or 'a way'. Six words answer to this description, but only three deserve notice at present.²

The word *Gātu* occurs over 60 times in all in the Rv. in the different case-forms, 48 times independently and 19 times as part of a compound. *Sāyana* understands³ it in a number of senses such as 'one who moves', or 'movement', or 'a place which

¹ *Griffith* understands the word *antarvidvān* to mean 'deeply skilled' unlike *Sāyana* to whom it means 'knowing as existing between (Heaven and Earth)'. *Grassmann* (*Der Ṛgveda*, II. 74) supports the former when he takes the word to mean *kundig* (skilled) and translates the whole quarter thus: ' *Der Wege kundig, die die Götter wandern*'. Though *Sāyana*'s explanation here seems to be pedantic, he is supported by Rv. X. 88. 15 which expressly declares that the paths of the gods and fathers lie between Heaven and Earth.

² The three words omitted here from consideration are *patha*, *pada* and *vayuna*; the first occurs over 150 times in the different cases, and is mostly taken by *Sāyana* in the sense of *mārga* (road or way) and sometimes in the figurative sense of 'an expedient'; but *Grassmann* (*Wörterbuch Zum Ṛgveda*, p. 767) and *Roth and Bohtlingk* (*Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, IV. 420) understand the word always in the sense of *Pfade* (path) or *Weg* (way); the second similarly occurs nearly 100 times in the various cases, and generally means 'to go' (*gehen*), 'to stride' or 'stalk' (*schreiten*), or 'to tread' (*treten*); the third occurs 34 times in all and is understood in various senses; in three verses at least (II. 34. 4; VI. 7. 5; VII. 66. 8) the word means 'a path'. But all these occurrences of these three words are of little significance in the present context.

³ *op. Roth and Bohtlingk, op. cit.*, II. 729. ff.; *Grassmann, op. cit.*, p. 394.

deserves approach' (*gantavyam*), or 'path or way' (*mārga*), or 'house' (*gṛha*), or 'happiness' (*sukha*), or 'earth' (*bhūmi*), or 'sacrificial place' (*yajñamārga*), or an 'expedient' (*upāya*), or 'attainment of the fruit' (*phalaprāpti*), or 'to sing or to pray' (*stotum*), or 'that which is fit to be sung or known' (*stotavyam jñātavyam vā*). In the sense of a 'path or way' (*Gang, bahn*), the word occurs 17 times¹ and of these occurrences the following two verses deserve attention :

Yamo no gātum prathamō viveda naiṣā gavyūtir
apabhartavā u |

Yatrā naḥ pūrve pitarah pareyur enā jajñānāḥ pathyā
auu svāḥ² ||

Viṣu cid dṛḥā pitaro na ukthair adriṁ ṛjann āṅgirasō
raveṇa |

Cakrur divo bṛhato gātum asme ahaḥ svar vividuḥ
ketum usrāḥ³ ||

In the first verse, Yama is described as the first to find out a way which is not to be taken away. To this place ancestors of old have repaired, and to it alone go those born since then, each one along his own way ; in the second verse, *Āṅgirasas*, the ancestors, are described as having found out the way to Heaven. The value of these two passages consists in the definite allusion they make to a path which is exclusively used by the ancestors (*pitarah*) on their way to Heaven which is no more than the place where all the dead meet again after death,⁴ in contrast with the *Devayāna* which is used by the gods for their transit, when they go to their devotees to receive worship and offerings (and by which men who go to the gods travel). Nor was this path of the ancestors discovered by any god for the help of the mortals. *Yama* or *Āṅgiras* who is considered to be the discoverer of this path is no more than the primeval ancestor of the R̥gvedic seers. In her dialogue with Yama, Yami calls him

¹ I. 71. 2; II. 20. 5.; 21. 5; III. 4. 4; 31. 9; IV. 55. 4; VI. 30. 3; VII. 47. 4; 63. 5; IX. 85. 4; 96. 10. 15; 97. 18; X. 14. 2; 49. 9; 61. 25; 99. 8.

² X. 14. 2.

³ I. 71. 2.

⁴ Yama, son of Vivasvat, is thus called 'the assembler of people' (*sam-gamanam janānām*), for all the dead go to him (X. 14. 1).

'the only mortal' (X. 10. 3). In another place (X. 13. 4), Yama is said to have chosen death and abandoned his body. He passed to the other world, finding out the path for many,¹ to where the ancient fathers passed away (X. 14. 1, 2). As first and oldest of the dead, Yama could easily be regarded as the chief of the dead that followed him. Hence is it perhaps that he is frequently² denominated 'king'. Yama is sometimes enumerated along with gods like Agni,³ but the fact remains, that in the entire R̥gveda, Yama is nowhere expressly called a god.

The character of *Āṅgirasas* as 'ancestors' of the R̥gvedic seers is still more clearly emphasized. A single *Āṅgiras* being regarded as their ancestor, they are also termed 'sons of *Āṅgiras*' (X. 62. 5). They are frequently spoken of as 'fathers' (*pitarah*),⁴ 'our fathers' (*pitaraṇah*),⁵ or 'our ancient fathers' (*naḥ pūrve pitaraḥ*).⁶ They are once (X. 14. 6) mentioned as 'fathers' with the *Bhrgus* and the *Atharvans*, being especially associated with Yama (X. 14. 3 ff.). They are said to have thought out the first ordinance of sacrifice (X. 67. 2), and as a result of this merit are spoken of as having obtained immortality as well as the friendship of Indra. It is, therefore, clear that Yama and *Āṅgirasas* are no more than the ancestors of the R̥gvedic seers⁷. When, therefore, we are told that they found as a path which leads to a place (i.e. the world of Yama) where these

¹ The *Av.* (XVIII. 3. 13) is more explicit when it says that Yama is the first mortal to die.

² X. 14. 2, 4, 7; 16. 9; IX. 113. 8.

³ X. 64. 3; 92. 11.; *Agni*, Yama and *Mātariśvan* are once (I. 164. 46) mentioned together as the names of the *One Being*.

⁴ X. 62. 2; 14. 4.

⁵ I. 71. 2; X. 14. 6.

⁶ I. 62. 2.

⁷ This is further proved by the fact that Yama and *Āṅgirasas* are also taken into account in enumerating the 'ancestors' who strengthened the gods by sacrifices, who derived strength by their aid, and, of whom, some rejoice in the call *svāhā* and others in *svadhā*, the call by which the Manes are usually invoked (X. 14. 3); cf. the *Siddhānta Kaumudī* on *Pāṇini*, II. 3. 16: *namas svasti svāhā svadhā lamvaṣaḍyogāc ca*, which by its illustrations, *agnaye svāhā*, *pitṛbhyas svadhā*, points out that while the gods are to

two, in company with their virtuous descendants, enjoy an eternal bout (X. 135. 1), we are not far from the Upaniṣadic conception that the sacrificers and philanthropists who travel, at death, by the *pitṛyāna* attain the Moon and enjoy there. The momentariness of this enjoyment must have been emphasized in the Upaniṣads solely with the purpose of pointing out the inferiority of this bliss as compared with that of those who attain *Brahman* and become immortal. This idea is also not unfamiliar to the *R̥gveda* which speaks of the *R̥bhus* as having attained 'divinity' owing to their special merit (IV. 35. 8), and of the *Āṅgīrases* as having attained immortality for a similar reason (X. 67. 2), while Heaven is the reward for all those who practise rigorous penance (*tapas*), for heroes who risk their lives in battle (X. 154. 2 ff.), and above all for those who bestow liberal sacrificial gifts.¹ If in the Upaniṣadic age, one who would attain immortality was required to be well-versed in the *pañcāgnividyā* or to meditate with faith upon *Satya*, this could be achieved in the *R̥gvedic* age by people who did wondrous but beneficent deeds. The *R̥bhus*, sons of *Sudhanvan* and grand-sons of a man, are thus said to have obtained their *divinity* by enlivening a dead cow (IV. 33. 4), by making the ladle (*camasa*) four-fold (IV. 35. 3), and by making their aged parents young (I. 20. 4), and the *Āṅgīrases* are said to have attained their 'immortality' as a reward for having thought out the first ordinance of sacrifice. Similarly, if the Vedic Seer attained the privilege of enjoyment in the Heaven of *Yama* for his austerities, or bravery, or philanthropy, the Upaniṣadic Seer obtained the privilege of enjoyment in the *Pitṛloka* (i. e. the Moon) for his sacrifices and philanthropy. The *R̥gvedic* conception of Divinity or immortality and Heaven must have, therefore, greatly inspired the Upaniṣadic *Devayāna* and the *Pitṛyāna*.

(continued from the previous page)

be addressed by *svāhā*, the manes are to be addressed by *svadhā*. For a full discussion of the relative meanings of these two words, as also for the establishment of the view that the distinction between the Gods and the Manes was clearly understood even by the *R̥gvedic* seers, see Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, *Svāhā, Svadhā, and Svasti* (*J. O. R. M.*, I. 16 ff.).

¹ X. 154. 3 ; I. 125. 5 ; X. 107. 2.

Rajas occurs nearly 150 times in the *Rgveda* and is understood in a number of senses ; in the sense of a 'a path' (*mārga*), the word can be construed in *five* verses ¹ at least, out of which the following *two* are important for consideration now :

Ā kṛṣṇena rajasā vartamāno niveśayann amṛtam martyam
ca ।

Hiraṇyayena savitā rathenā devo yāti bhuvanāni
paśyan ॥ ²

Hiraṇyapāṇiḥ savitā vicarṣanir ubhe dyāvāpṛthivī antar
ityate ।
Apāṁlīvāṁ bād hate veti sūryam abhi kṛṣṇena rajasā dyāṁ
ṛnoti ॥ ³

In the first verse, Savitṛ is described as moving through the dark path (*kṛṣṇena rajasā*) and, in the second, that he penetrates to Heaven through the dark space. *Sūrya* translates the word *rajasā* by 'region' (*lokena*) and *Grassmann* by 'aerial region' (*luftraum*), but even then the compound should mean something like 'path or course' i. e. a region through which the Sun traverses. Seeing that Savitṛ is a solar deity, it is quite possible that the seer calls his course 'dark' (*kṛṣṇa*) because it is beyond man's perception. This supposition is all the more strengthened if the frequent descriptions of the region of *Viṣṇu*, another solar deity in the *Rgveda* are also taken into consideration. *Viṣṇu* is described as living at a long distance from this world (*kṣayantam asya rajasah parākē*), ⁴ and as he thus shows knowledge of the highest region, his greatness cannot be measured by anybody.⁵ With his wide-going (*urugāya*) and wide-striding (*urukrama*) steps, *Viṣṇu* traverses throughout the terrestrial regions. Two of his steps are visible to men, but the third, or highest is beyond the flight of birds or mortal ken ; ⁶ it is known only to the saviour full of mercy. His highest step is like an eye fixed in Heaven, and it shines brightly down ;

¹ I. 35. 2, 9 ; 116. 20 ; II. 31. 2 ; VI. 62. 6.

² I. 35. 2.

³ I. 35. 9.

⁴ VII. 100. 5.

⁵ VII. 99. 1.

⁶ I. 155. 5 ; VII. 99. 2.

towards this the wise ever look (*tad viṣṇoḥ paramam padam sadā paśyanti sūrayaḥ*).¹ Here in this dear abode of *Viṣṇu*, at this spring of sweetness, the pious rejoice :

Tad asya priyam abhi pātho aśyām naro yatra devayavo

madanti ।

Urukramasya sa hi bandhur itthā viṣṇoḥ pade parame

madhva utsaḥ ॥²

Tā vām vāstūny uśmasi gamadhyai yatra gāvo

bhūriśrngā ayāsaḥ ।

Ātrāha tad urugāyasya vṛṣṇaḥ paramam padam ava

bhāti bhūri ॥³

This Heaven of *Viṣṇu* by entering which the devotees are immortal, is also distinguished from the Heaven of *Yam*, which is open to any virtuous man. Thus we are told :

Tisro dyāvah savitur dvā upasthām ekā yamasya

bhuvane virāṣāt ।

Ānim na rathyam amṛtādhi tasthur iha bravitu ya u

tac ciketat ॥⁴

The fact that Savitr is associated with *immortality* is clear from the description that he granted immortality to the gods ;⁵ and the following verse where the seer wants to go by the path of the Sun and attain the place where his span of life (*āyus*)⁶ can be extended i. e. where he can be immortal, expresses clearly that the Sun also is connected with *immortality* :

Ud Irdhvaṁ jīvo asur na āgād apa prāgāt tama ā

jyotir eti ।

Āraik panthām yātave sūryāya aganma yatra pratiranta

āyuh ॥⁷

¹ I. 22. 20.

² I. 154. 5.

³ I. 154. 6.

⁴ I. 35. 6.

⁵ IV. 54. 2.

⁶ Śāyana's rendering of the word *Āyus* into 'food' (*anna*) is rather fantastic.

⁷ I. 113. 16.

It is thus clear that the R̥gvedic seers knew of *two* kinds of virtuous people those who by good conduct attain felicity in *Yama's* Heaven and those who, by superior merit like *piety*, attain the Heaven of the *Solar* Gods, *Viṣṇu*, *Savitṛ*, or *Sūrya*, and become immortal.

Sruti occurs 8 times in all in the different cases; while both *Sāyaṇa* and *Grassmann*¹ generally interpret the word to mean 'a path or way' (*mārga*=*bahn, weg*), it is taken by them only once (II. 13. 2) in the sense of 'a stream or current' (*apām saraniḥ* = *strom, stromung*). *Roth* and *Bohtlingk*² understand the word throughout in the former sense of 'a way' (*weg* or 'road or street' (*strasse*). Of the *seven* passages³ in which the word *sruti* occurs in this sense, the following verse is significant:

Dve sruti āsr̥ṇavam pitṛṇām aham devānām uta
martyānām ।

Tābhyām idam viśvam ejat sam eti yad antarā
pitaram mātaram ca⁴ ॥

The seer says in this verse that he has heard of two paths, one of the gods and the other of the mortals, and that through one or the other of these two every creature that exists between Heaven and Earth (i.e. in this world) proceeds on its way. *Sāyaṇa* sees in this verse a clear mention of the *Devayāna* and *Pitṛyāna*, the paths by which the dead travel to their respective destination as entitled by their merit and which are so elaborately described in the *Bhagavadgītā* (VIII. 24 ff.). *Griffith*⁵ takes the two ways to denote 'the way to the other world and the way back, regarded as distinct', but his translation of the first line into 'I have heard of two several pathways, way of the fathers, way of gods and mortals' is not clear. To *Deussen*,⁶ to interpret this verse to mean the *Devayāna* and the *Pitṛyāna* of the Upaniṣads

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 1618.

² *Op. cit.*, VII. 1409.

³ I. 42. 3; 46. 11; VIII. 91. 1; IX. 78. 2; VI. 24. 4; X. 32. 7; 89. 15.

⁴ RV. X. 88. 15=YV. XIX. 47.

⁵ *White Yajurveda*, p. 179 n.

⁶ *Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*, p. 318; but the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, itself (XIV. 9. 1. 1=Br. Up. VI. 2. 1) interprets the verse in this way.

⁸ [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

would only be to strain the *Saṁhitā* text to make it suit the purpose of the Upaniṣads. According to him, the 'two ways' meant here are those of day and night, and the import of the entire verse is that all beings are subject to the laws of day and night. *Deussen* justifies his interpretation on the ground that elsewhere¹ Agni is spoken of as having a dual character, Sun by day and fire by night. His explanation could be accepted if it were certain that the present verse alludes to the 'paths' of Agni. But the allusion here seems to be only to the paths which are to be traversed (at death) by the whole lot of human beings.² *Sāyaṇa* is right when he gives this explanation, but he makes a jumble in understanding the first line where he seems to assign one path for the manes and gods and another for the mortals *pitṛnām ca devānām ca utāpi ca martyānām manuṣyānām ca dvē* *srutī dvau mārgau*). The same is the case with *Griffith*³ when he speaks of one pathway for the fathers and the other of gods and mortals. It seems possible to avoid all this confusion by taking *pitṛnām* as an adjective of *Devānām*, and interpreting the first-half of the verse to mean "I have heard of two paths, one of (my) ancestors, the gods, and the other of mortals." It must be remembered in this connection that the seer of this verse is a descendant of the *Angirases* who, as mentioned already, are said to have attained to *divinity* through their special prowess. Can it not be possible that the seer could be thinking here, when he speaks of 'two paths', the one achieved by his ancestors who obtained *divinity*, and the other that of ordinary mortals of inferior merit whose destiny lies in meeting Yama and revelling in his company? If so, this verse would be an additional evidence to show that *two* kinds of destiny for the virtuous were conceived by the Rgvedic people *immortality* or *divinity* for those whose achievement is of the front-rank, and *heavenly bliss* for the ordinary people whose merit lies only in their virtue. If besides this, we take note of the fact that these seers also knew

¹ X. 83. 15.

² cf. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 171; Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 145 n.

³ *supra*; Muir's explanation of this verse is plausible when he makes *martyānām* the adjective of *srutī* (*Original Sanskrit Texts*, I. 434; V. 287).

that there is a distinction¹ in the paths traversed by the gods and the manes, that the former is lustrous and belongs to the immortals, and that all those passing through it must pass through Agni, we are quite near the conception of the *Devayāna* and the *Pitṛyāna* in the Upaniṣads which describe these two paths in all elaborateness and in greater detail.

¹ cf. the Avestan conception of the *Cinvato Peretu* or *Cinvat-peretu* (Bridge of the Separator) which is said to appear to the righteous to be 9 'spears' or 27 arrows' length across, but as narrow as a razor's edge for the godless man, so that he falls into Hell. (Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, 597, cited by J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 165.

“THE SUPPOSED IDENTIFICATION OF UDAYANA OF KAUSĀMBI WITH UDAYIN OF MAGADHA”

BY

LILADHAR B. KENY

Synonymous names in the different chronologies of the Purāṇas have raised a suspicion for their identity. Udayana of Kausāmbi and Udayin of Magadha are two of such names in ancient historical tradition. And recently an effort has been made to identify them with each other.

In an article recently contributed in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XXI, pp. 97-99 Dr. Seth tried to identify with each other these two historically different personalities altogether, mainly basing his conclusion on the following grounds :

- (1) that they are slight variants of the same name ;
- (2) that they are contemporary ;
- (3) that they are described in literary tradition with similar characteristics ;
- (4) that the Purāṇas do not mention Udayin (of the Magadha dynasty) as the son of Darśaka ;
- (5) that the Matsya Purāṇa mentions the successor of King Ajātaśatru (of Magadha) as Vamsaka which recalls the Vamsas of Kausāmbi ;
- (6) that Hiuen Tsiang mentions Darśaka (of Magadha) as the last king of the line of Bimbisāra, and so his successor Udayin belonged to some other dynasty ;
- (7) that the Purāṇas inform that Udayin (of Magadha) changed his capital from Rājagṛha to Kusinapura (Pātaliputra), and change of capital signifies a change of the ruling dynasty ; and finally
- (8) that the literary traditions indicate the conquest and annexation of Magadha by Udayana (of Vatsa).

Taking into consideration the evidence obtained in the Purāṇas and other allied literature, one may safely come to the conclusion that the arguments put forth by Dr. Seth are rather presumptuous the question of the identity of these two different kings not arising at all. We shall now try to enter into the details of the *pros* and *cons* of the problem.

Together with the Purāṇas the Buddhist Chronicles mention the order of succession of the later Śāisunāga kings of Magadha, which should not be neglected. Comparing the Purāṇic and Buddhist traditions Dr. Bhandarkar says that "it is not safe to rely upon the account furnished by the Purāṇas for this early period so far at any rate as the order of succession and the duration of individual reigns are concerned." And so "the tradition presented in the Mahāvamśa about the Magadha dynasties seems...more reliable."¹

The Purāṇas and the Buddhist Chronicles have detailed different versions regarding the succession of the rulers of Magadha and Vatsa respectively. Śātānika, Udayana and Vahinara, according to the Purāṇas,² or Śātānika (Parantapa), Udayana and Bodhi, according to the Buddhist Chronicles,³ formed the order of succession of the kings of Vatsa. On the other hand Bimbisāra, Ajātasatru, Darśaka, Udayin, Nandivardhana and Mahānandin, according to the Purāṇas,⁴ or Bimbisāra, Ajātasatru, Udayabhadda, Anuruddha, Muṇḍa and Nāgadāsaka, according to the Buddhist Chronicles,⁵ were the kings of Magadha. According to the Pali Canons Udayana of Vatsa, Prasenajit of Kośala, Pradyota of Avanti and Bimbisāra of Magadha were all contemporaries of the Buddha, and so, of each other.

According to Dr. Seth,⁶ Udayana of Vatsa was a very junior

¹ Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 71.

² Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 5-7.

³ *Dhammapada Commentary*, I, pp. 164-66; *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, p. 23; Law, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kśatriya Tribes*, p. 134; *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 60, pp. 14, 16, 18.

⁴ Pargiter, *Op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

⁵ *Mahāvamśa*, IV, 1-4 (Geiger's edition); Cf. *Samantapāsādikā*, I, p. 72.

⁶ *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XXI, p. 97.

contemporary of the Buddha. But the Buddhist Chronicles¹ state that the great preacher died in the 8th year of Ajātaśatru's reign. Moreover Udayin of Magadha who immediately succeeded Ajātaśatru according to the same chronicles, and two generations later according to the Purāṇas, could never have been a contemporary of the Buddha. Thus the two kings with "slight variants of the same name" are absolutely different personages. The only factor of the names being synonymous does not help the argument. And even in the Purāṇas we get two different kings but having synonymous names. Daśaratha of Ayodhyā and Yādava dynasties, Prasenajit of Magadha and Ayodhyā dynasties, and Nandivardhana of Videha and Magadha dynasties are a few of the many examples.

Svapnavāsavadatta, one of the plays of Bhāsa, mentions the marriage of Udayana of Vatsa with Padmāvatī, the sister of Darśaka, the king of Magadha. The drama no doubt proves the reality of the existence of Darśaka as king of Magadha. But it does not mention in the least the immediate succession of Darśaka after Ajātaśatru.² Following the Purāṇic tradition Dr. Seth says that Padmāvatī was the daughter of Ajātaśatru. It looks quite improbable to note that the name of such a famous king as Ajātaśatru is never referred to by the dramatist. Moreover the Darśaka of the Purāṇas is identified with the Nāgadāsaka of the Buddhist Chronicles.³ According to these Chronicles Darśaka succeeded to the throne of Magadha not immediately after Ajātaśatru but three generations later. Svapnavāsavadatta mentions Padmāvatī as sister of Darśaka and not as daughter of Ajātaśatru. Moreover, according to the Buddhist traditions, Udayin of Magadha was a favourite child of Ajātaśatru even during the life time of Bimbisāra, and he was a youthful prince at the meeting of his father with the Buddha. Naturally he must be middle aged at the death of Ajātaśatru. But Darśaka, according to the Svapnavāsavadatta, was very young when he came to the throne, and when Udayana of Vatsa

¹ *Mahāvamsa*, II, 32; *Dīpavamsa*, III, 60.

² Raichaudhari, *Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 143-144; Cf. Pradhan, *Chronologies of Ancient India*, pp. 216-17.

³ Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 71.

was married to Padmāvatī.¹ So Darśaka could not have come between Ajātaśatru and Udayin of Magadha. And so Padmāvatī cannot be the daughter of Ajātaśatru, as Dr. Seth supposes. From the above we conclude that Udayana who married Padmāvatī and Udayin who succeeded Ajātaśatru were two different kings reigning at two different places and at two different periods. Thus the "gentle, lovable and virtuous king" of the Svapnavāsavadatta is Udayana of Vatsa, and the "Dharmātma" of the Gārga-Saṁhitā stands for the Udayin of Magadha.

In identifying the two kings Dr. Seth says that "in the Purāṇas Udayin (of Magadha) is not called as the son of Darśaka. He is only mentioned as Darśaka's successor. Generally if the successor has been the son of the previous king then it has been so mentioned in the Purāṇas." We have already shown that Udayin succeeded not Darśaka but Ajātaśatru. But even taking the Purāṇic tradition as correct, as Dr. Seth takes it, Darśaka was Udayin's predecessor and father. Even the kings Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru of the Magadha dynasty, who are best known as father and son, are not mentioned accordingly in the Purāṇas, but only as mere successors one after the other. According to the Purāṇas and the Buddhist Chronicles, either Darśaka or Ajātaśatru was the father of Udayin of Magadha. But the same traditions mention a Śātānīka as the father of the Udayana of Kauśāmbi or Vatsa. This shows that they were two different kings. The Purāṇas do not necessarily mention the successor as a son even if he is one.

Taking into consideration the Magadha dynasty of the Śaiśunāga kings, as mentioned in the Matsya Purāṇa, which states Vāṁsaka as the successor of Ajātaśatru, Dr. Seth argues that this Vāṁsaka recalls the Vāṁsas of Kauśāmbi. In his own words the learned Doctor says "It is difficult to say whether Vāṁsaka is a corrupt reading for Darśaka..." If we take into consideration the list of the Śaiśunāga kings of Magadha in the other Purāṇas we find instead of Vāṁsaka a Darbhaka in the

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, XLIV, p. 45; according to Dr. Bhandarkar Udayana of Vatsa was married to Padmāvatī in the first year of Darśaka's reign. (*Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 70).

Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata, a Harṣaka or Darśaka in the Vāyu and a Darśaka in the Brahmāṇḍa. Darśaka is the most central form,¹ the rest being definitely its corruptions. And so the Vamsake of the Matsya Purāṇa does not seem to be connected with the Vamsas (or Vatsas or the people of Vatsa) in any way. It has got nothing to do with Udayana of Vatsa.

Mentioning Hiuen Tsiang's tradition that "... the saṅghā-rāma of the Tiladaka ... was built by the last descendant of Bimbisārārājā "² Dr. Seth argues that Darśaka was " the last descendant " and that he was succeeded by a king of some other dynasty—King Udayana of Vatsa. We have already seen that the Purāṇic Darśaka is the same as the Buddhist Nāgadāsaka³ who was succeeded by Susunāga.⁴ The Ceylonese Chronicles state that all the kings from Ajātaśatru to Nāgadāsaka were parricides, and so the people became angry, banished the dynasty and raised an amātya named Susunāga to the throne of Magadha.⁵ The epithet Nāga is prefixed to Dāsaka to distinguish him from his successor Susunāga who belonged to a somewhat different family.⁶ The Chinese traveller's " last descendant of Bimbisārārājā " refers therefore to the Magadhan Nāgadāsaka (Darśaka) whose successor was Susunāga— " a minister apparently of Darśaka " ⁷ and not Udayana of Vatsa as Dr. Seth thinks.

Referring to the Purāṇic information that Udayin (of the Śaiśunāga dynasty of Magadha) changed his capital from Rājagṛha to Kusumapura (Pāṭaliputra). Dr. Seth identifies the Udayin of Magadha with Udayana of Vatsa because " change of capital," according to the learned Doctor, " often signifies a change of the ruling dynasty." We have already seen that Udayin was the son and successor of Ajātaśatru of Magadha. Naturally he belonged to the same Śaiśunāga dynasty as his

¹ Pargiter, *Op. Cit.*, p. 22 (foot-note).

² Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, p. 102.

³ *Ibid.*, (f. n.); Cf. Raichaudhuri, *Op. Cit.*, p. 144.

⁴ *Mahāvamsa*, IV, 6; *Dīpavaṃsa*, V, 98; *Samantapāsādikā*, I, p. 72.

⁵ *Mahāvamsa*, IV, 5-6; *Dīpavaṃsa*, V, 98; Cf. *Sumāṅgalavilāsinī*, I, 153.

⁶ Bhandarkar, *Op. Cit.*, p. 71.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

predecessors. Moreover ancient historical traditions do mention changes of capitals, the dynasties remaining the same.

On the basis of Bhāsa's *Svapnavāsavadatta* Dr. Seth says that the marriage of Udayana (of Vatsa) was arranged more for political reasons. As far as this he is perfectly right. But we do not agree with his statement about the "annexation of Magadha by Udayana" (of Vatsa). According to the above literary tradition, as he must be well aware, the kingdom of Vatsa was on the verge of destruction on account of internal revolutions started by a rebel Āruṇi.¹ It would, thus, appear rather illogical to think that the Vatsa minister Yaugandharāyaṇa was ambitious for the conquest of Magadha, when his own land was being pestered with civil war. The river Ganges was the only boundary between Magadha and Vatsa. And naturally the wise and able minister Yaugandharāyaṇa was afraid that the revolution might be fomented by the king of Magadha. And it was this "political reason" which led to the matrimonial alliance between the two houses of Vatsa and Magadha and not the political reason of the annexation of Magadha by Vatsa as Dr. Seth thinks. This marriage of great political significance meant not only Magadha's abstention from actively helping the insurgents of the Vatsa country, but also a prompt aid from Magadha in putting down the rebellion in Vatsa. Darśaka of Magadha at once helped the Vatsa war-minister Rumaṇvan with a large army of elephants, cavalry and infantry to make the rebellious land of Vatsa quite secure.² Apart from the annexation of Magadha by Vatsa we find on the other hand the annexation of Vatsa by the later Śaiśunāga kings of Magadha.³ During the reign of the Nandas, Vatsa had lost her independence.⁴ From the above we clearly see that Udayana of Vatsa was a different king than Udayin of Magadha.

¹ *Svapnavāsavadatta*, Act V, p. 51 (Kale's Edition).

² "Eṣa khalu bhavatomaṅgyo Rumaṇvān mahatā balasamudāyenopayātaḥ khalvāruṇimabhighātayitum. Tathā hastyasvarathapadātīni māmakāni vijayāṅgāni sannaddhāni". *Svapnavāsavadatta*, Act V, p. 51.

³ *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, I, p. 89.

⁴ Law, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 60, p. 11.

⁵ [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

All this would be enough to prove that Udayana and Udayin were two different kings ruling at two different places Vatsa and Magadha respectively, and at two different periods in history. Even the fact that the predecessors and successors of these two kings were different may further corroborate our statement.

Thus the predecessor and successor of the Udayana of Vatsa were, according to the Purāṇas, Śatāṅka and Vahinara, and according to the Buddhist Chronicles, Śatāṅka and Bodhi respectively. But the predecessor and successor of the Udayin of Magadha were Darśaka and Nandivardhana, according to the Purāṇas, and Ajātasatru (Ajātasattu) and Anuruddha, respectively, according to the Buddhist Chronicles. They were thus two different personages.

When the Buddha visited Bhagga country, it was ruled over by Bodhi the son of Udayana.¹ But the Buddha had already retired from this world at the time of Udayin, as we have already seen. This again shows that they were two absolutely different kings.

¹ Law, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 60, p. 16.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA¹

By

N. J. SHENDE

1. For several years, the question of the origin and growth of the Mahābhārata has engaged the attention of the scholars. The scholars like Holtzmann (Junior), Ludwig, Dahlmann, Jacobi, Von Schroeder, Hopkins, Macdonell, C. V. Vaidya and others have in their own way proposed various views regarding the origin and growth of the Mahābhārata. But these views do not primarily consider the question of the final redaction of the Mahābhārata that is to say, who should be considered responsible for making the epic consist of a lakh of verses, including the Kāvya, Smṛti and Nitiśāstra at once. This aspect of the question for the first time struck the late Dr. Sukthankar, who formulated a theory regarding the final redaction of the Mahābhārata.² He has collected and collated therein, the Bhārgava references and has observed that 'the Bhārgavas spring into prominence all of a sudden in the Mahābhārata' and that all Bhārgava material is entirely foreign to the plan of the original saga of the Bharatas, occurring as it does almost wholly in the episodic portion of the epic. He came to the conclusion that in the formative period of the epic, a powerful Bhārgava influence direct or indirect had been at work in shaping our epic for us. This theory of Dr. Sukthankar is of great importance as it, for the first time, points to the proper approach to the problem of the redaction of the Mahābhārata. But it is necessary to investigate this problem further and to find out whether there are other Brahman families who might have influenced the composition of

¹ I am highly indebted to my Guru Prof. H. D. Velankar and the late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, for the help they gave me in my study of the Mahābhārata.

² See A. B. O. R. I. Vol. XVIII, pages 1-76 (hereafter referred to as *Epic Studies VI*).

the present Mahābhārata. If there are such families what may be their exact relation with the Bhṛguś? The aim of this paper is to evaluate the Brahmanical element in the Mahābhārata and to discuss how far the results thus obtained help towards the solution of the problem of the authorship of the Mahābhārata.

2. At the very beginning it is to be borne in mind that the Śatasāhasrī Samhitā or the Mahābhārata of a lakh of verses is the starting point of the present discussion. Vyāsa is the traditional author of the Mahābhārata. But this is not proved by the internal evidence of the text of the Mahābhārata. For, Vyāsa is said to have composed only Bhārata, a collection of 24000 verses, without the Upākhyānas.¹ Naturally it must be seen as to who is responsible for the addition of about 76000 verses to the Original Bhārata; in other words, it is necessary to investigate the problem of the final redaction of the Mahābhārata. Even though in the present Mahābhārata there seem to be, two distinct and separate phases namely, the Bhārata and the Mahābhārata, the Caturvīṃśatisāhasrī and the Śatasāhasrī Samhitās,² it can be easily conceded that the Mahābhārata as a whole presents a complete unity of characters, aims, ideas and subject matter. There is a general frame-work in which all its episodes fit themselves quite well. Thus there is an undisputable unity in the present redaction of the Mahābhārata. Of course this unity in such a vast work, described as, a literary monster,³ is to be seen in a general manner only. Still it is important that it is there and that it is not a hotch-potch work. This unity of redaction presupposes the unity of the redactors without which the underlying unity cannot be maintained. So the redactors of the Mahābhārata must have formed a complete unity among themselves. Coming to the question as to who these redactors may be, we get a definite clue from the attempt at the Brahmanisation of the incidents and episodes in the Mahābhārata. There has been a definite attempt in the whole of the Mahābhārata to press the majority of the incidents and episodes in the

¹ Cf. Mbh. I. i. 102-103.

² Cf. Dr. V. S. Sukthankar: The Nala Episode in the Mahābhārata in the Volume of Eastern and Indian studies presented to Prof. Thomas 1939 page 302.

³ See Winternitz: A History of Indian Literature, Vol. I, page 326.

cause of the Brahmanic religion. The Mahābhārata in fact deserves to be called 'Encyclopaedia Brahmanica'.¹ It is probable that it was due to the attempts of the Brāhmaṇas that the Bhārata of 24000 verses was enlarged into the Mahābhārata of a lakh of verses, claiming to be the Encyclopaedia of Brahmanic traditions. Thus it remains to be seen as to who these Brāhmaṇas might be. What must be their purpose in this attempt? How was the unity among the redactors maintained?

3. With this purpose, a survey of all the Brāhmaṇas occurring in the Mahābhārata was made and it was found that nearly 275 different names of the Brāhmaṇas occurred 8500 times on the whole in the Mahābhārata. It was further seen whether these names of the Brāhmaṇas could be traced to definite and important Brāhmaṇa families. In this connection it may be noted that there are repeated references in the epic to the seven sages, who were the 'mind-born' sons of Brahman. These are: Marīci, Atri, Āṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Vasiṣṭha.² Bhṛgu is born of the 'heart' of Brahman. In the enumeration of the twenty-one Prajāpatīs, there is a mention of these seven sages, with the addition of Bhṛgu to them.³ These seven sages (without Bhṛgu being included in them) form the group of sages called Sapta Citraśikhaṇḍins. These seven sages are also called the seven prakṛtis of Nārāyaṇa by which the entire world is supported.⁴ Bhṛgu appears to have been added to this group later on. For, we find Bhṛgu in addition to these sages being included in the list of the Prajāpatīs in Manu Smṛti.⁵

Accepting these eight to be the principal sages (viz. Marīci, Atri, Āṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Vasiṣṭha and Bhṛgu), let us then turn to their proper evaluation and representation in the Mahābhārata. Out of nearly 8500 references to the Brāhmaṇas, we find the following to be the total individual references to these eight sages and other members of the families

¹ See Epic studies VI, page 68.

² Cf. Mbh. XII, 208, 3-5.

³ Cf. Mbh. XII, 334, 35-36.

⁴ Cf. Mbh. XII, 335, 30.

⁵ Cf. i. 35.

represented by them : (i) Marici, 175 ; (ii) Atri, 60 ; (iii) Āṅgiras, 3200 ; (iv) Pulastya, 35, (v) Pulaha, 20 ; (vi) Kratu, 20 ; (vij) Vasiṣṭha, 830, (viii) Bhṛgu, 1500.

Out of these eight Brahmanical families, the five namely, Marici, Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha and Kratu are not important as the number of their occurrence indicates. The family of Marici is represented by his son Kaśyapa¹ and his descendants, the Kāśyapas. Marici alone occurs 26 times in the epic. About Pulastya, Pulaha and Kratu, we do not read much. The family of Atri is connected with that of the Āṅgiras by matrimonial connections i. e. by the marriage of Bhadrā with Utathya Āṅgirasa. But otherwise it is not in any way prominent in the epic. Thus ultimately we are left with the four principal families, viz. Āṅgiras, Bhṛgu, Kaśyapa (represented by Marici in the list of the seven sages) and Vasiṣṭha. In fact these four are actually mentioned to be the principal Gotras in the epic. Cf. Mbh. XII. 296. 17.

मूलगोत्राणि चत्वारि सप्तपञ्चानि भारत ।

अङ्गिराः कश्यपश्चैव वसिष्ठो भृगुरेव च ॥

Looking to these principal families of the Brāhmaṇas, from their numerical representation in the epic, we find that the Āṅgirasas and the Bhṛgus form an over-whelming majority over others. Leaving out Kaśyapa (in the family of Marici) as non-important, there remain out of four only these, viz. the Āṅgirasas, the Bhṛgus and Vasiṣṭhas, who are prominently represented in the Mahābhārata.

In the Āṅgirasa family we find the following 25 members directly belonging to it:— 1 Āṅgiras ; 2 Atharvan ; 3 Āsvatthāman ; 4 Āṅgirasi ; 5 Utathya ; 6 Kaca ; 7 Kakṣivat ; 8 Gautama ; 9 Caṇḍa Kauśika ; 10 Cīrakāri Gautama ; 11 Dīrghatamas ; 12 Droṇa ; 13 Bala ; 14 Bṛhaspati ; 15 Bharadvāja ; 16 Yavakṛita ; 17 Śāradvata Gautama ; 18 Śrutāvati ; 19 Samvarta, 20 Sārasvata, 21 Sudhanvan ; 22 Payasya ; 23 Śānti ; 24 Ghora and 25 Virūpa are also mentioned to be the sons of Āṅgiras. We do not hear anything of them beyond mere mention.

¹ Cf. Mbh. XII. 208. 8.

In the family of Bhṛgu¹ we similarly find the following 15 members: 1 Bhṛgu; 2 Kavi; 3 Śukra; 4 Cyavana; 5 Aurva; 6 Rōka; 7 Jamadagni; 8 Paraśurāma; 9 Pramati; 10 Ruru; 11 Sunaka; 12 Dadhica; 13 Mārkaṇḍeya, 14 Vipula and 15 Uttanka.

Now as regards the Vasiṣṭha family, it may be pointed out that Vyāsa, a Vasiṣṭha, is credited with the authorship of the Bhārata, which originally consisted of only 24000 verses and had no episodes to speak of. Cf.

चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्रीं चक्रे भारतसंहिताम् ।

उपाख्यानैर्विना तावद्भारतं प्रोच्यते ब्रुवैः ॥

Mbh. I. i. 102-103

This accounts for the presence of the Vasiṣṭha element in the Mahābhārata. Thus by a process of elimination we have found out that out of the eight families or Gētras, there remain only two viz. the Āṅgīrasas and the Bhṛgus as the prominent ones in the Mahābhārata. The number of times of their occurrences in the epic is 3200 and 1500 respectively. Comparatively speaking, the Āṅgīrasas are found in almost a majority of two to one over the Bhṛgus; but this is evidently due to the fact that a whole major Parvan (Droṇa parvan) is devoted to the exploits of Droṇa Āṅgīrasa.

4. Coming to the question of the relation between the Bhṛgus and Āṅgīrasas, we learn that the Atharva Veda is associated with the mystic fire priests of prehistoric antiquity, Atharvan, and Āṅgīras (and later on also Bhṛgu), resulting into the names: Atharvāṅgīras, Bhṛgvāṅgīras and finally Atharva Veda. The name *Atharvāṅgīras* is mentioned in the Atharva Veda itself (A. V. X. 7. 20). The name *Bhṛgvāṅgīras* is almost wholly restricted to the ritual texts of the Atharvans.² The term Bhṛgvāṅgīras, always found in the compound 'Bhṛgvāṅgirovid', is the favourite designation of the Atharvaveda. It appears that at some later stage the term Bhṛgu replaced the term Atharvan in the earlier name Atharvāṅgīras and we got a new name, Bhṛgvāṅgīras. It was due to the inherent relation

¹ For the detailed account of the Bhṛgus, see V. S. Sukthankar's *Epic Studies VI* in A. B. O. R. I. Vol. XVIII, pages 1-76.

² Cf. Bloomfield: *Atharva Veda* page 9.

between the three, Bhṛgu, Atharvan, and Aṅgiras; as all these are, in general, on the same level, concerned as they are in the production and service of fire, as also in the cultivation and the spread of magical spells. Occasionally in the Mantras they are found all together or Bhṛgu is found in the company of Atharvan or Aṅgiras.¹ This inter-relation continues in the Yajus and the Brāhmaṇa texts in such a way that the juxtaposition of Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras becomes exceedingly frequent, broaching on the complete synonymy reached in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 4. 1. 5. 1 when the sage Cyavana is designated either as a Bhārgava or as an Aṅgirasa. These Bhṛgvaṅgirasas seem to be indispensable to the institution of sacrifice. For the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa points out without Bhṛgvaṅgirasas the sacrifice limps like a quadruped deprived of its feet. All these considerations point to the conclusion that the members of the Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras family formed a unity in themselves for all practical purposes as suggested by the Vedic tradition about the sameness of the source,² from which they were originated. The main purpose of the Atharvāṇic texts seems to be the glorification of Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras in particular and of Brāhmaṇas and sacrifice in general. But in addition to these it is quite possible that they represent an attempt of the Brahmanic orthodoxy led by the Bhṛgus and Aṅgirasas to enlist the sympathy of the masses, whose beliefs and traditions are faithfully recorded in the Atharva Veda, by raising the unorthodox Atharvāṅgiras Veda to the level of the other three orthodox Vedas, thus making four as the number of the Vedas.

Coming down to the Mahābhārata, we find the same close relationship between the two families reflected in the oft recurring compound Bhṛgvaṅgiras. The same old tradition about their common origin is preserved and continued even in the epic. A similar attempt to exalt the Atharva Veda and the family of Atharvāṅgiras is evident in the story of Nahuṣa,³

¹ Cf. RV. X. 92. 10 and VIII. 43. 13.

² Cf. Gopatha Brāhmaṇa. 1. i. 1-15.

³ Cf. Mbh. V. 18, 5-8.

when Indra is made to confer a boon on the Atharva Veda, that the Veda would be thereafter known by the name "Atharvāṅgī-rasa" and that Atharvan would have a share in the sacrifice.

A close relationship of the Bhṛguś and the Ṃgīrasas is also clearly seen in the double denominations which some members of these families get. Thus Cyavana, Dadhīca and Gr̥tsamada are both Bhārgava and Ṃgīrasa. It is further interesting to know that the Mahābhārata mentions of an age when the whole world war peopled with the descendants of the Bhṛgvāṅgīrasas¹ only.

Another important feature of these families i. e. of Bhṛguś and Ṃgīrasaś is that we do not mostly meet either of these families joined with any priestly family other than these two : Of these two families, the Ṃgīrasas were evidently the senior branch and the Bhṛguś were the junior one. Even in the field of politics and spells, the Ṃgīrasas appear as the earlier receivers of these, while the Bhārgavas have received the same from the Ṃgīrasas. The inherent unity and the sameness of interests of these two families, however, are quite evident in both the Vedic and the epic periods. Both these strike us as the most enthusiastic religious reformers and undaunted champions of the cause of Brahmanism.

5. It can be easily seen that the Bhṛgvāṅgīrasas occupied a very peculiar position in the AV. In the RV. the Ṃgīrasas are described as seers, who are the sons of gods (RV. X. 62. 4) or of Agni (RV. X. 62. 2). On the one hand they are associated with the groups of divine beings such as Ādītyas, Vasus and Maruts (RV. III. 44. 4 and 35. 14), on the other hand they are related with mortals like the Atharvans (RV. X. 18. 13) and the Bhṛguś (RV. K. 14. 6). They are also the Brāhmaṇa priests, who by means of sacrifice acquired immortality and Indra's friendship (RV, X. 62. 1.). They found Agni hidden in the wood (RV. V. 11. 6). They thought of the first ordinance of sacrifice. Indra, Agni. and Uśas are called the best of the Ṃgīrasas (Ṃgīrastama, RV. I. 100. 4). Atharvan rubbed forth Agni (RV. VI. 16. 13) and the priests rub Agni as Atharvan did (RV. VI. 15. 17). Atharvan first established rites by sacrifices, while the Bhṛguś showed themselves to be the gods by their skill (RV. X. 92. 10).

¹ See Mbh. XIII. 91. I.

10 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

Bṛhaspati Āṅgīrasa occupies a position of considerable importance in the RV., eleven entire hymns being dedicated to sing his praise. Sacrifice does not succeed without him (RV. I. 18. 7). It seems that Bṛhaspati was originally considered as the presiding deity over prayer and later on ascribed to the family of Āṅgīras. Bharadvāja is described as Bārhaspatya and is the traditional seer of several hymns of the VI Maṇḍala of the RV. The Bharadvājas are called Āṅgīrases at RV. VI. 35. 5. Bhṛgu is the seer of RV. IX. 65 and X. 19. There are many other individual Bhārgavas who are the traditional seers of a number of hymns of the RV. The Bhṛgus are chiefly connected with the communication of Agni to men. Mātariśvan brought Agni to Bhṛgu (RV. I. 60. 1). The Bhṛgus are the ancient priests, for the sacrificers speak of them together with the Āṅgīrases and Atharvans as their soma-loving fathers (RV. VIII. 43. 13). Rāma Bhārgaveya (Paraśurāma) is the traditional seer of RV. X. 110. Gr̥tsamada, who was first an Āṅgīrasa and then a Bhārgava is the traditional seer of the second Maṇḍala of the RV. The sage Cyavana was a Bhārgava, Dadhyaṇ or Dadhīci is the son or descendant of Atharvan (RV. VI. 16. 14). Jamadagni was a Bhārgava and a traditional seer of a number of hymns of the RV.

6. *Statement of the new theory*

Before we proceed with our new theory, let us now take bird's eye-view of the foregoing discussion. From a brief review of the position occupied by the Āṅgīrases and the Bhṛgus in the Vedic literature, it was observed that the priestly clans of the Āṅgīrases and the Bhṛgus were regarded as coming out of the same source in the AV. The inherent relation between these two families was also noticed in their common literary activity in the shape of the Atharva-veda which is otherwise known as the Bhṛgvaṅgīrasa Veda. Thus the inherent unity among the members of these two inter-related families was established in the Vedic literature. This unity among the members of these two families seems to have gone to such an extent that some members get the denominations of both the families in later times. The members of these two families were great philosophers, leaders and religious teachers. Moreover, these were great fire-worshippers, sacrificers and seers of many hymns

of RV. Thus from these observations we may conclude that the Āṅgirasas and the Bhṛṅgas were very important and influential members of the Brahmanical society, as reflected in the vedic literature. In the Mahābhārata, too, we find the continuation of their vedic relations and traditions. Even here as in the Vedic literature a common source is attributed to Āṅgiras and Bhṛṅgu¹. Out of these two families, the latter possessed, as Bloomfield² has observed, an undefinable tendency to magnify their own importance. This tendency is very markedly reflected even in the Mahābhārata. Here the Bhṛṅgas are depicted as more "irascible, domineering, arrogant, unbending and revengeful sages" as Dr. Sukthankar observes.³ However, it is also observed that the Āṅgirasas are equally powerful and worthy of respect in the epic. Three of the great warriors of the Mahābhārata war were the Āṅgirasas, viz. Kṛpa, Droṇa and Aśvatthāman.

Regarding the main achievements of the members of these two families, it may be observed that they are very important for the study of the growth of the epic.

Āṅgiras the originator of the Āṅgirasa family, himself had acted as Agni.⁴ He was a leader of the Brāhmaṇas.⁵ Nīti and Dharma Śāstra are said to have been first revealed to him.⁶ He was one of the Saptacitraśikhaṇḍins.⁷ He was a great and enthusiastic religious reformer. He preached the doctrine of Tīrtha-yātrā and Upavāsa (fasting) as easier substitute for the more cumbrous vedic sacrifices.⁸ Āṅgirasa's anxiety to substitute easy practices of religious rites for the difficult ones such as sacrifices, is quite obvious in these. Here we also see an attempt on the part of Āṅgiras to enlist the sympathy of the masses in general. Atharvan, another member of the family, had secured the recognition for the Atharva Veda in the Brahmanical circle. A

¹ Cf. Mbh. XIII. 85. 35.

² Cf. Bloomfield: Atharva Veda page 9.

³ Epic studies VI page 64

⁴ Cf. Mbh. III. 217-232.

⁵ Cf. Mbh. XIV. 35. 27.

⁶ Cf. Mbh. XII. 122. 36-49.

⁷ Cf. Mbh. XII. 335-335.

⁸ Cf. Mbh. XIII. 26. 71 and 106, 35-50.

share in sacrifice was apportioned to the Atharvan priest. Even Atharvan was a religious reformer like Āṅgiras. The teaching of the Atharva Veda shows itself as an under-current in the various events and episodes described in the great epic. The story of the birth of some of the principal epic heroes such as the Pāṇḍavas,² the Astravidyā which they received from their Āṅgirasa teachers, the actual war which was fought with the help of the magical missiles, the political importance attached in those days to the Purohita of a king—all these fully illustrate how the teachings and influence of the AV. had attained prominence in the epic society. Traditionally Bhṛgvaṅgirasas are regarded as the authors of the AV. Very probably they may have been at least the editors of the Saṁhitā of the Atharva-veda. It is also noteworthy that even according to the tradition personal denomination is given to this Veda only, if 'Atharvan' in the word 'Atharva Veda' is supposed to be the name of the sage. In the Mahābhārata, we find that Atharvan was granted a boon by Indra that the AV. would be known after him. Here we must also bear in mind the popular nature of the teaching of the Atharva Veda. Daily life of an average Aryan is based more on the teaching of this Veda than on that of any other. Thus it seems probable that the leaders of the Brāhmaṇas such as the Āṅgirasas and the Bhṛgus championed the cause of the Brāhmaṇas among the masses, particularly with the help of the Atharva Veda. In the Mahābhārata we notice that a very high position was occupied by them. Brhaspati and Śukra are great politicians and religious teachers.³ They are also said to be the Vibhūtis of Lord Kṛṣṇa. Brhaspati propagated the Śāstra of the Saptacitrasikhaṇḍins. He was a trusted teacher of Uparicara Vasu. He preached Ahimsā.⁴ Lord Kṛṣṇa himself is said to be a descendant of Śukra. Thus we may say that the prevalence of the Bhāgavata Dharma and the Dharma-Nīti element in the Mahābhārata was due to the revising hand of the members of the Bhṛgvaṅgiras family. Paraśurāma, Droṇa,

¹ Cf. Mbh. V. 10-18.

² Cf. Mbh. III. 300-310.

³ Cf. Mbh. XII. 59. 81-85 and XIII. 98.

⁴ Cf. Mbh. XII. 335-336.

Aśvatthāman, Kṛpa, all had mastered the teaching of the AV. regarding the magical missiles.¹ Their superiority in this respect is seen at every step in the actual war between the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas. The Kuru princes were but students directly or indirectly of these Bhṛgvaṅgiras teachers. Bhīṣma in Śānti and Anuśāsana parvans does nothing but summarise the teachings of Bṛhaspti and Śukra, the members of the great Bhṛgvaṅgiras family. There will be thus no difficulty in admitting that the Bhṛgvaṅgiras element is not only very prominent in the epic in its present form but is also closely associated with the original saga of the Bharatas. Paraśurāma is connected with the epic heroes, and on one occasion had actually attended the court of the Kauravas. Bhīṣma and Karna are his pupils.² Droṇa, Aśvatthāman, Gautama – all Ṇgirasas, are the teachers of the Kuru princes. Thus there is no doubt that the Bhṛgvaṅgiras element is vitally connected with the nucleus of the Mahābhārata.

The Vaiṣṇava element and the Dharma-Nīti element in the epic were also probably due to these Bhṛgvaṅgiras teachers as said above. The methods of magical warfare were similarly introduced mainly by these Bhṛgvaṅgiras teachers. Bhṛgu was also a great philosopher.³ The Bhṛgvaṅgirasas were evidently great religious reformers. The old and complicated sacrificial observances, though looked upon as high ideals still, were not within the reach of the ordinary man. They were too expensive and elaborate for him. Hence the religious teachers like the Ṇgirasas and the Bhṛgus found out substitutes for them. These substitutes were self-dependent and hence they preached nothing but the very same time-honoured ancient Vedic religion; compare for example, the oft-recurring sentence *Eṣa dharmas sanātanaḥ* in the Mahābhārata.

Another thing that also deserves notice in this connection, is the great importance of the story-form in the process of instruction which must have been appreciated by the Bhṛgvaṅgirasas. The Jains and Buddhists, in order to win the minds of the

¹ Cf. Mbh. 1. 55; VIII. 34 and 90. 4; VII. 7. 1-7.

² Cf. Mbh. V. 173-196 and 72. 97-103.

³ See Epic studies VI. page 48.

masses, used this very popular method of appealing to them in later days, but even their early precursors of the epic days must have made use of the stories, narratives, fables and so on, for preaching their heterodox doctrines. The Brahmanic orthodoxy and particularly the Bhṛgu and the Aṅgirasas, who had felt some such need of the proper method of appealing to the people must have naturally been very happy to find such a story-treasure as the Bhārata, ready at hand. At that time, the legends of the Kuru war must have been a very popular form of entertainment for even the enlightened people, who really control the thought-waves spreading to the lowest strata of the society.

We saw above, that among the Brahmanical families the Bhṛgvaṅgirasas were the most influential and honoured ones on account of their tendency towards religious reforms, their regular cultivation of the science of magical missiles, their open practice of preaching magic and witchcraft in social and political life, as can be seen from the AV., with which their names are associated. Their terror was probably felt even by the Kṣatriyas, the martial class in the society. The magic coupled with the lore of the magical missiles in which the Bhṛgvaṅgirasas were highly proficient might have inspired awe towards them among all other classes in the society including the Kṣatriyas. Moreover, the Bhṛgvaṅgirasas had championed the cause of the Brāhmaṇas, and had whole-heartedly supported the Vaiṣṇava religion. Perhaps this is why we find Bhṛgu, Śukra, Brhaspati and Rāma, mentioned as the Vibhūtis of Kṛṣṇa.¹ Thus the influence of the Bhṛgvaṅgirasas must have worked for the betterment of the condition of the old vedic religion. The Bhārata like other popular compositions such as ballads and epics of all countries was evidently 'a fluid text' which could be adjusted to the varying needs of the times and the people. It is no wonder then that the Bhṛgvaṅgirasas adopted this fluid text of the Bhārata and utilised it as the vehicle of instructing the people in the new and simplified forms of the Vedic religion devised by them. Thus the Bhṛgvaṅgirasas

¹ Cf. Bhagavadgītā X. 24, 25, 31, 37.

who had already raised Atharva Veda to the rank of the fourth Veda, probably also made the saga of the Bhāratas occupy the elevated position of the fifth Veda.

Having seen the conditions in which the Bhṛgvaṅgirases may have been tempted to turn the saga of the Bharatas into the vehicle of public instruction, we can now easily understand the inherent unity in the plot, idea, characterisation and in every other respect which has been pointed out mainly by Dahlmann, that Champion of the synthetic school. We have reason to believe that the fluid text of the Bhārata must have been under the direct supervision and influence of the Bhṛgvaṅgirases for a long time. We have seen the inherent unity between the two priestly classes of Ṃgirases and Bhṛgus both in the vedic and the epic literature. This unity already seen in the joint authorship of the AV., ascribed to them by tradition, easily explains the joint influence on and supervision of the Mahābhārata by the Bhṛgvaṅgirases.

The work of increasing the bulk of the Mahābhārata by the addition of the episodes must have also been done by the Bhṛgvaṅgirases themselves. A question arises whether the Bhṛgvaṅgirases were the only persons, who were responsible for the final recast of the epic. The answer to this question can be given in the affirmative. It is shown above how out of the various names of the Brāhmaṇas, seven or eight appear to be the number of the chief families and how even among these seven or eight only two i. e. the Ṃgirases and the Bhṛgus are predominant in the Mahābhārata. The Bhṛgvaṅgirases as a matter of fact, form an overwhelming majority over all others. There is no enmity among the different members of the families of the Ṃgirases and the Bhṛgus. We find Brhaspati and Śukra siding with rival parties. However, when Kaca goes to Śukra, the latter speaks with reverence of the family of Kaca.¹ Between the Ṃgirases and the Bhṛgus too, we notice the haughty, revengeful nature more in the Bhṛgus than in the Ṃgirases. However this does not come in the way of the inherent unity between these branches of the same common stock. We can therefore presume that the

¹ Cf. Mbh. I. 71.

fluid text of the Bhārata had come under the preponderating influence of the Bhṛgvaṅgirases at one time during the growth of the epic and they must have incorporated in it all important legends current in the society about the superiority of Brāhmaṇas and Brahmanism at that time, since their aim evidently was to present an Encyclopaedia of the Brahmanic wisdom, power and traditions. This can be suggested from the boast of the epic itself at I. 56-63.

यदिहास्ति तदन्यत्र, यदिह नास्ति तत्कचिद् ।

On account of this aim of the redactors we find even a number of Brāhmaṇas untraced to any family, mentioned in the Mahābhārata, though they are individually quite ignorable. It is thus on account of the Bhṛgvaṅgirases redacting or influencing the formation of the epic in its final form that the epic has maintained the unity in the midst of its manifold diversity.

The Mahābhārata has retained its popularity for the last 2500 years as has been rightly observed by Dr. Sukthankar¹ not merely on account of its barren teaching of the solidarity of religion, not only because it is an encyclopaedia of the Brahmanic traditions, not merely because of its being a history, but also because of its being composed in the form of the narrative poem. Thus the chief importance of the Mahābhārata is on account of its being a narrative Kāvya. Religious instruction through the medium of an attractive story-poem-must have been the chief aim of these great religious reformers i. e. Bhṛgvaṅgirases in adopting the Bhārata and turning it into a sort of an encyclopaedia of Brahmanism. The Bhṛgvaṅgiras redactors of the final form of the Mahābhārata have also kept the Suta, the traditional minstrel as the principal figure. They themselves preferred to remain behind the scene, mainly because the Sutas were the traditional singers of the glories of the families. They appear to be giving public performances of the recital of their own compositions or of those composed by others. The Suta, therefore, represents the traditional minstrel. If we would bear in mind the purpose behind this amplification of the Mahābhārata by the Bhṛgvaṅgirases, we will certainly appre-

¹ See Epic studies VI, page 73.

ciate the traditional setting given to the whole work by them. This setting actually strengthened their position, as the traditional frame of the work inspired respect among the people. This is why we find that the Suta a traditional minstrel, comes to the hermitage of the sage Śaunaka, a Bhārgava and describes the various holy places which he had recently visited. He also points out how he had been to the holy place called Samantapañcaka and in fact he was returning from it. He tells there how he was adept in narrating the account of the various families. Śaunaka being a Bhārgava naturally asks him to tell the account of the Bhṛgu.¹

तत्र वंशमहं पूर्वं श्रोतुमिच्छामि भार्गवम् ।

This is quite appropriate if we bear in mind the egoistic tendencies of the Bhṛgu when compared with the Āṅgirasas. The account of the Āṅgirasas also has been narrated at great length later on.²

Thus the account of the Āṅgirasas and the Bhṛgu certainly favours the conclusion that the *Bhṛgvaṅgirasas* were jointly responsible for the final redaction of the *Mahābhārata*, for making it a *Dharma Śāstra*, and a *Nītiśāstra*, and an *Encyclopaedia of the Brahmanical traditions* and for preserving its unity in the midst of its manifold diversity. In this final recast of the *Mahābhārata* by the Bhṛgu and the Āṅgirasas, the central unity was maintained the traditional frame work was preserved and at the same time, their purpose of the glorification of Brahmanism was fully accomplished. There would indeed be no difficulty in granting this conclusion if we remember the following facts, already proved above in this connection, about the Bhṛgu and the Āṅgirasas. These are :— (1) The numerical superiority of the members of these two families over the members of any other Brahmanical families mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, (2) their undeniable mutual connection reflected in the Vedic and the Epic Literature, which had created a sort of unity of interest and purpose in them ; (3) their intimate association with the principal characters and events of the epic and the influence which

¹ Cf. Mbh. 1. 5. 3.

² Cf. Mbh. III. 217-232.

they wielded in revolutionizing the Methods of warfare by the introduction of magical missiles and the Atharvanic rites and chants, (4) the preponderance of the Atharvanic ideology which is traditionally traced to the Bhṛgvaṅgirasas, in the important events of the Mahābhārata story, (5) the great enthusiasm for religious reform and preservation of old ideals of the Vedic religion, which they evince, as is seen from the epic, in introducing comparatively easier substitutes for the older complicated sacrificial ritual. (6) the existence in the story of the Mahābhārata War, of three great warriors of the Āṅgirasa family i. e. Droṇa, Aśvatthāman and Kṛpācārya who had figured as leaders of great importance and which must have tempted the Āṅgirasas and the Bhṛgus of the later days to handle the Mahābhārata story ; (7) and lastly, the temptation which the then popular story of the Mahābhārata War must have offered to these heroic Brāhmaṇas, who could easily foresee with what great advantage the story material could be utilized for the purpose of approaching the masses, who can be regarded as one of the most important elements in the spread and cultivation of a religious system. All these seem to force upon us the one conclusion that is stated at the beginning of this paragraph.

UNPĀṆINIAN FORMS AND USAGES IN THE CRITICAL EDITION OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA ¹

BY

E. D. KULKARNI

1. INDISCRIMINATE USE OF *mā* AND *na* ²

The study of unpāṇinian forms in the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata is important from different points of view. It is one of the chief expedients adopted by the General Editor for the construction of the critical text, to find out a reading which best explains how the other readings may have arisen. The true reading in this case has often proved to be a *lectio difficilior* or an archaism or a solecism. ³ According to him the conservation of the Ms. is proved by its preserving archaisms—‘mechanical corruptions of a faithful copyist—while other Mss. have discarded them in favour of modern forms. ⁴ These archaisms must necessarily be an original inheritance handed down from generation to generation and used indiscriminately. The General Editor in his Prolegomena puts forth the following query with regard to these archaisms. ‘But can we legitimately promise that the original must necessarily have been quite flawless from the point of view of the Pāṇinian grammar? Is it not at least likely that the supposed solecism may be a genuine *lapsus calami* of the author or that the usage fluctuated?’ ⁵

¹ Edited by the late lamented Dr. V. S. Sukthankar and published at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. I owe greatly to Dr. Sukthankar for not only giving to me the subject for investigation but also for presenting before me the plan of the treatment of the topic. I have to thank Dr. S. M. Katre for helping me at every stage with his guidance.

² The paper is based on the Critical Edition of the Ādiparvan, Vana-parvan, Virāṭaparvan and Udyogaparvan. It is thus intended to make use of the whole of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata.

³ Prolegomena to the Ādi. XCII.

⁴ ibid LV.

⁵ ibid LXXVII.

Naturally the study of Unpāinian forms in the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata falls into several classes according to its nature. It will comprise the following aspects.

(1) Spelling, (2) guṇa or vṛddhi, (3) syllabic haplology, (4) sandhi, (5) change of gender, (6) change of consonantal stem to vowel stem in nouns and adjectives, (7) confusion between different nominal stems, (8) strong base for weak and *vice versa*, (9) noun declension, (10) formation of feminine base (11) declension of pronouns, (12) numerals, (13) confusion of roots, (14) conjugation of roots in different tenses and moods, (15) non-finite forms, (16) participles, (17) voice, (18) simplex and causative, (19) taddhita, (20) compounds, (21) syntax of cases, (22) tautology and word haplology, (23) negative particles, (24) use of tenses and moods, (25) illogicality, (26) concord, (27) use of *ca*, *iti*, *sma*, (28) use of prepositions, (29) historical present and (30) metres.¹

In the present paper I am taking into account an indiscriminate and irregular use of negative particles *mā* (sometimes *mā sma*) and *na*. The imperative negative or prohibitive, is from the earliest period of the language regularly and usually expressed by the particle *mā* with the augmentless imperfect form prevailingly augmentless aorist.² In the second person these tenses with the augment so cut off have the sense of the imperative mood and in the first person and the third it expresses a doubt, translated in English by ' *that* ' with ' *may* ' or ' *might* ' or simply ' *may* '.³ (cf. 4.20.33^d *mā kīcakavaśam gamam*). Not in conformity with this rule regarding the form and the sense, we find many instances of aorist and one of imperfect, all not deprived of augment. Moreover *mā* is used in almost all the tenses and moods, merely as a substitute for *na*. The variants recorded in the brackets with reference to Mss. which always try to correct archaic forms, bear out the truth of the statement.

¹ The present series will deal individually with these topics.

Cf. *Sushila Mehta*, Some Linguistic Peculiarities of the Bhāgavata, Bhāra-
tīya Vidyā 4. 1. 30-40.

² *Whitney*, Sanskrit grammar, p. 217.579.

³ *Apte*, Student's guide to Sanskrit Composition, pp. 137, 211.

The use of *na* also, we find very irregular, doing occasionally duty in the place of *mā* with the aorist. We see at least three instances of *na* with augmented aorist and three with augmentless aorist, all expressing prohibition. Compounds with *mā* and *na* are not wanting and moreover, they are easily interchangeable without any change in meaning. One thing should be noted about these compounds; following the false analogy of combinations like *tad anu* viewed as *tadanu*, perhaps the negative particles are compounded to the adjoining word.¹ Next we find one queer instance in 3.240.2^a (*akārṣiḥ* T2 G1 *mā kārṣiḥ*) where augmentless aorist form compounded with *a-* as a first member of the compound, is used to indicate prohibition. Lastly we have one big group of instances of optatives with *na* in a prohibitive sense, a new phase appearing in the Vedas and becoming a familiar construction in later literature.² The instances in the Mahābhārata are too many to quote and all are prescriptive in character. I have selected only two from each parvan to serve our purpose. Thus we find that the spheres of *mā* and *na* are overlapping.

I *mā* WITH THE PRESENT.

1. 3.133.24^a *mā sma te te gr̥he rājañ śātravāṇām api dhruvam | vātasārathir ūdhatte |*
2. 3.130.4^d *praviṣṭā prthivīm vīra mā niṣādā hi mām viduḥ |*
3. 3.281.24^c *mā vai dvitīyaṁ mā tṛtīyaṁ ca vāñcche |*

II *mā* WITH THE IMPERFECT.

1. 3.153.*13 *mā smāhaṁ kṣatriyakule jātuoit punar ābhavam |*

III *mā* WITH THE IMPERATIVE.³

1. 1.3.65^d *tāv aśvinau muñcato mā viṣīdatam |*
[K1.3 Ñ1 V1 D2 T2 G4-6 M Arjp *viṣīdathah*, T1 G1 *°tha*]

¹ Cf. Whitney, Sanskrit grammar, p. 514, 1314^b.

² Whitney, Sanskrit grammar, p. 217, 579-80.

³ Whitney gives one instance of *mā* with the imperative and remarks that it is a single instance met with in the older language.

2. 1.3.104 *mā vicāraya* ।
3. 1.36.24^d *mā śṛṅgīn garvito bhava* ।
4. 1.605.*7 *mā maivam vada suśroṇi* ।
5. 1.610.*4 *tathā kuruṣva śāstroktam vivāham mā ciram kuru* ।
6. 1.612.*7 *tām devīm punar utthāpya mā śuca iti punaḥ punaḥ* ।
7. 1.68.25^a *mā ātmānam avamanyathāḥ* ।
8. 1.71.36^a *maivam śucco mā ruda devayāni* ।
[Ś1 *K māivam rodīḥ* (Ś1 *rudo*, K1 *dado*) M6-8 *tan mā rudo*, B1,6 Da2 D2,3 T1 G6 *rudaḥ*]
9. 1.73.30^a *niṣkṛtir me'stu vā māslu* ।
10. 1.759.*1 *mā śocir vṛṣaparvas tvam mā krudhyasva viśam pate* । (T2 G6 *rudhas tvam*)
11. 1.789.*2 *mā cainām śayane samāhvaya* ।
12. 187.8^a *prcchāmi tvām mā prapata prapātam* ।
13. 1.87.10^a *tāms te dadāmi mā prapata prapātam* ।
(Ko.4 T2 G1.2.6 *prapataḥ*)
14. 1.87.15^a *tāms te dadāmi mā prapata prapātam* ।
15. 1.88.3^a *tāms te dadāmi pata mā prapātam* ।
(TG 1.2.5.7 *prapataḥ*)
16. 1.1373*.7 *maivam jīṛṇam upāssva tvam* ।
(Ñ1.3 *upāsīḥ*, D5 T2 G4.5 *upāsiṣṭhāḥ*)
17. 1.131.17^c *mā ca vo'astv aśubham kimcit* ।
18. 1.142.23^a *tvarasva bhīma mā kriḍa jahi rakṣo vibhī-
ṣaṇam* ।
(Ko *bhais tvam*, Ñ2 B1 3 *hāsīḥ*)
19. 1.1578*.2 *tasya siddhir iyaṁ prāptā mā śocata
paramtapāḥ* ।
20. 1.1580*.1 *snuṣe mā roda mā rodety evam vyāso'bravīd
vacāḥ* ।
21. 1.1621*.1 *maivam vada sukalyāni tiṣṭha gehe
sumadhyame* ।
22. 1.158.11^a *ārāḥ tiṣṭhata mā mahyam samīpam
upasarjata* ।
23. 1.165.20^d *yatheccchasi tathā kṣipram kuru tvam mā
vicāraya* ।
24. 1.1860*.2^b *mā simhanādān kuru pūrvejaha* ।

25. 1.189.5^{c3} *mā vo martyasakāśād vai bhayaṁ bhavatu karhicit ।* [K2 Ñ1 S (G2 om, G3 before corr) *na*]
26. 1.194.12^d *tāvat praharaṇaṁ teṣāṁ kriyatāṁ mā vicāraya ।*
27. 3.32.3^a *astu vātra phalaṁ mā vā kartavyaṁ puruṣeṇa yat ।*
28. 3.88.27^d *te saṁśayo'stu mā ।*
(S *mā bhūt te saṁśayotra vai*)
29. 3.559*.1 *eṣa te rudra bhāgo vai mā no yajñam imaṁ jahi ।*
- 29^a. 3.131.19^{cd} *mā rājan mārgam ājñāya kadaliskandam āruha ।*
30. 3.141.15^d *padbhīr eva gamiṣyāmo mā rājan vimaṇā bhava ।*
(M1 *hi bhūh*, T2 G2-4 *tasmāt kim bhavitā bhayam*)
31. 3.141.16^d *mā rājan vimaṇā bhava ।* (M1 *hi bhūh*)
32. 3.141.20^{cd} *mā te glānir mahābāho mā ca te'stu parābhavaḥ ।*
33. 3.824*.3 & 4. rjuṁ *paśyata mā vakraṁ satyaṁ vadata mūrṅtam । dīrghaṁ paśyata mā hrasvaṁ paraṁ paśyata māparam ।*
34. 3.172.18^a *arjunārjuna mā yuñkṣva divyāny astrāṇi bhārata ।*
35. 3.190.34^a *mā maṇḍūkāṁ jighāṁsa tvam ।*
(G1.2.4 M1 *jighāṁsīh*)
36. 3.218.18^d *tasmād indro bhavān adya bhavitā mā vicāraya ।*
37. 3.229.28^c *dveṣyaṁ mā adyaiva gacchadhvaṁ dharmarājaniveśanam ।* (BD^c Dⁿ D4.6 G3 *na*, T1 G2.4 *na*)
38. 3.1118*.1 *rakṣaṇīyā mahābāho maivaṁ vada mahāmate ।*
39. 3.239.7^a *prasīda mā tyaja ātmānam ।* (G1.2.4 M *na*)
40. 3.240.23^c *mā viśādaṁ nayasva asmān ।*
(Dⁿ D4.6 *gamas*, B4 *na*)
41. 3.1173*.1 *tvadadhīnā vayaṁ rājan mā tvam asmān vicāraya ।*
42. 3.251.20^{cd} *maivam ity abravīt kṛṣṇā lajjasveti ca saindhavam ।* (Dc2 *na lajjasveti* ; B4 *lajjase na*)

43. 3.252.22^c provāca mā mā śprśateḥ bhītā ।
44. 3.263.32^a mā viśīda naravyāghra । (T G1,2.4 viśādam)
45. 3.264.58^a mā ca te' stu bhayaṁ bhīru rāvaṇāl loka-
garhitāt । [S (except T2 G3 bhūt)]
46. 3.281.106^d yathāgatam śubhe gaccha panthānam mā
vicāraya । (T2 G2.4 avicāraya)
47. 3.292.11^b śivās te santu panthāno mā ca te paripan-
thinaḥ ।
48. 4.13.17^a mā sūtaputra hr̥ṣyasva mādya tyakṣyasi
jivitam ।
49. 4.358*.1 śaraṇam bhava kaunteya mā saṁgaccha yudhi-
ṣṭhiram ।
50. 4.20.4^e mā dharmaṁ jahi suśroṇi krodham jahi mahā-
mate ।
51. 4.482*.3 mā paśyata smeti ca tām bruvantaḥ ।
52. 4.592*.1 mā grahiṣ tvam imam vṛkṣam śimhanādam ca
mā kuru ।
53. 4.668*.1 mā mā gr̥hāṇa bhadram te dāso'ham te br̥han-
nale ।
54. 4.1027*.9 mā mānabhaṅgam vipreṇ dra kuru viśrutakar-
maṇaḥ ।
55. 4.1132*.8 tasmān mā vismayas te' stu ।
56. 5.9.29^d kuruṣvaitad yathoktam me takṣaṁ mā tvam
vicāraya । [K (except K2) D10 vilambithāḥ]
57. 5.29.47^c mā vanaṁ chindhi savyāghram mā vyāghraṁ
nīnaśo vanāt ।¹
58. 5.36.30^{ab} mā naḥ kule vairakṛt kaścid astu rājāmātyo
mā parasvāpahārī । [D1 na (for the second mā)]
59. 5.37.41^c mā vanaṁ chindhi savyāghram mā vyāghraṁ
nīnaśo vanāt ।
60. 5.54.40^d mā rājan vimanā bhava ।
61. 5.67.19^c buddhiś ca mā te cyavatu ।
62. 5.469*.1 sa bhavān suhr̥do vaśyam vaco gr̥hṇātu
mānṛtam ।
63. 5.131.7^b uttiṣṭha he kāpuruṣa mā śeṣvaivam parājitaḥ ।

¹ Dr. Speijer, Sanskrit Syntax, p. 318, 405. when subjoined to some chief sentence mā admits of being translated by 'lest'.

64. 5.131.11^d uttiṣṭha he kāpuruṣa mā śeṣvaivam parājitaḥ ।
(K4 B Dn Ds D6-8.10 mā svāpsih)
65. 5.131.29^a mā dhūmāya jvala ।
66. 5.132.7^d anvarthanāmā bhava me putra mā vyartha-
nāmakāḥ । [D9 T2 G (except G4) na]
67. 5.132.11^d evam vidvān yuddhyamanā bhava mā
pratyupāhara । [Ds D2 G2 Cd.s pratyavāharaḥ; B (except
B 3) Dn2 D3.4.6 T2 Ca.n o'haraḥ]
68. 5.145.27^d tvayi jīvati mā rāṣṭram vināśam upa-
gacchatu ।
69. 5.156.13^d mā vimanā bhava ।
70. 5.172.8^c maivam vada mahāpāla naitad evam katham-
cana । [K3.4 B (except B2) Dn1 D6.8 na ; K1.2.5 D1.2
vādih]
71. 5.178.22^c prasīda mā vā । ¹
72. 5.179.24^a mā maivam putra nirbandham kuru vipreṇa
pārthiva ।

IV. mā WITH THE CAUSAL IMPERATIVE

1. 1.116.23^d mā mām mādri nivartaya (T1 G2.6 mā
mādri na)
2. 1.1562.*1 viśeṣato matsakāśe mā prakāśaya nīcatām ।
3. 1.1860.*2^c mā ghoratām darśaya śatrumadhye ।
4. 1.223.18^d śivas trātā bhava asmākaṁ mā asmān adya
vināśaya । (N1 na)
5. 3.23.22^{ab} jahi śālvam mahābāho mainam jīvaya keśava ।
6. 3.134.3^a vyāghram śayānam prati mā prabodhaya ।
(M2 bubodhīḥ)
7. 3.239.5^{cd} mā kṛtam śobhanam pārthaiḥ śokam ālambya
nāśaya ।
8. 4.670*.1. mā mā mārāya bhadram te muñca māmemi
me gṛham ।
9. 5.145.33^b viśeṣatas tvadartham ca dhuri mā mām
niyojaya ।
10. 5.146.22^d citrakāra ivālekhyam kṛtvā mā sma vināśaya ।
11. 5.186.3^d te tvām nivārayanty adya prasvāpam mā
prayojaya । (S prayūyujah)

¹ ibid. 318, 405. mā with the imperative, expresses doubt or certainty.

V. *mā* WITH THE PASSIVE IMPERATIVE

1. 3. 190. 46 *mā kriyatām anubandhaḥ* !
[B3.4 D (except D1-3) G3 M1 na]
2. 3. 239. 12^f *naiva bhogaiś ca me kāryaṁ mā vihananta*
gacchata !
3. 5. 116. 6^{ed} *yadi śakyaṁ mahārāja kriyatām mā*
vicāryatām !
(Dn Ds D1.6.8 *avicūritam* ; T G1.3-5 M *mā vicāraṇā*)

VI. *mā* WITH THE POTENTIAL¹

1. 1.26.11^c *mā tvā daheyaḥ samkrudhā vāḥkilyā*
marīcipāḥ ! (Ñ3 G1-3 M1 na)
2. 1.78.37^d *prasādam kuru me brahmañ jareyam mā viśeta*
mām ! [Ko.1.3.4 B3 *nāviśeta*, ÑB1.4-6 D (except D2.5)
T1 G1.2 na *viśeta*, K2 *nāviśet*]
3. 1.141.21^d *mā śabdaḥ suhasuptānām bhrātṛṇām me*
bhaved iti ! [B (except B5) Da D2.4 *sambhūt*]
4. 1.183.9^c *mā vo vidyaḥ pāthivāḥ kecanaḥ* !
5. 3.38.21^b *māsmākam kṣatriyakule janma kaścid avā-*
pnuyāt !
6. 3.139.13^d *esa te brahmahā yajñaṁ mā draṣṭum praviśed*
iti ! (T1 na)
7. 3.708*.3 *anena vai pathā mā vai gacched iti vicārya*
saḥ ! (Dc na)
8. 3.147.40^{cd} *dharṣayed vā śaped vāpi mā kaścid iti*
bhārata !
9. 3.183.12^c *maivaṁ atre punar brūyāḥ* (B1.3.4 na)
10. 3.221.40^d *kurudhvaṁ vikrame buddhim mā vaḥ kaścid*
vyathā bhavet ! (Dc na)
11. 3.282.32^b *sarveṣāṁ eva bhavatām saṁtāpo mā bhaved*
iti ! (D3 na)
12. 3.285.10^c *mā asmai te kuṇḍale dadyā bhikṣave vajra-*
pāṇaye ! (K Dc D1-3.5 *dāḥ*)
13. 4.16.1 *mā viśāde manaḥ kuryād* !
14. 4.296*.2 *tena satyena mām drṣṭvā kīcako mā vaśaṁ*
nayet !

¹ Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, p. 217, 579, 579^b. A single instance *bhujoma* used prohibitively with *mā* in RV.

15. 4.358*.3 *mā sma śimantini kācij janayet putram idṛśam* !
16. 4.32.18^c *mā tvā vṛkṣeṇa karmāṇi kurvāṇam atimānu-
śam* ! *janāḥ samavabudhyeran bhīmo'yaṁ iti bhārata* !
(D2 na)
17. 4.1040*.1 *mā te svako'rtho nipateta mohāt* !
18. 4.64.5^d *mā tvā brahmanaviṣaṁ ghoram samūlam api
nirdahet* !
19. 4.1144*.61 *yac ca vakṣyāmi te sarvaṁ mā śāṅkethāḥ
yudhiṣṭhira* !
20. 5. 9. 7^d *viśādam agamac chakra indro'yaṁ mā bhaved
iti* !
21. 5. 16. 26^b *mā tvaṁ puṣyer nahuṣaṁ vai kadācit* !
22. 5. 40. 17^d *budhyasva mā tvaṁ pralabheta rājan* !
23. 5. 93. 3^j *mā te dharmas tathaiivārtho naśyeta bhara-
tarṣabha* ! (K1 D2-4 na)
24. 5. 94. 34^b *anujñātaḥ svasti gaccha maivam bhūyaḥ
samācareḥ* !
25. 5. 433*. 1 *mā sma bhūyaḥ kṣipeḥ kañcid* !
26. 5. 131. 28^{cd} *mā sma śimantini kācij janayet putram
idr̥śam* !
27. 5. 132. 30^c *mā tvā paśyet sukṛpaṇam śatruḥ śrīmān
kadācana* ! (T2 G^c na)

VII. *mā* WITH THE CAUSAL POTENTIAL

1. 1. 46. 40^d *dvijasya yo'dadad dravyaṁ mā nṛpaṁ jīvayed
iti* ! (T G6 M1.5 na)
2. 5. 72. 1^d *mā sma yuddhena bhīṣayeḥ* !

VIII. *mā* WITH THE AUGMENTED AORIST¹

1. 1. 33. 7^d *mā naḥ kālō'tyagād ayam* !
2. 1. 97. 24^b *mā naḥ sarvān vyanīnaśaḥ* !
(Ś1 vinenaśaḥ ; K1 M6 vinīnaśaḥ)

¹ ibid. 579, 579e. He quotes three instances from the older language *vyāpaptat* (ŚB); *agās* (TA); *anaśat* (KS).

Cf. Rāmāyaṇa, *māśaṅkiḥ* 4. 13. 36d; *mā anvagāḥ* 4. 30. 81^{cd} Nearly all types of linguistic peculiarities discussed in this paper are seen in Rāmāyaṇa; e. g. *mā vada* 6. 113. 38^c; *mā kṣapayasva* 7. 20. 11^d; *mā kuryāḥ* 7. 40. 11^{ab}; *mā gamiṣyāma* 7. 35. 63^{ef}; *mā ciram* 6. 114. 7^d; *nātidūre* 4. 27. 11^c *naikāḥ* 6. 111. 64^d; etc. etc.

3. 1. 122. 6^a *maivam jirṇam upāsiṣṭhāḥ* (K4 na ; G1, 3. 4. 6 na; N1 B3 *upāsis tvam*),
4. 1. 147. 16^b *mā tvām kālo' tyagād ayam* !
(B1 *atigāt*, K1 *abhigāt*)
5. 8. 23. 24^d *mā tvām kālo' tyagāt punaḥ* !
6. 3. 35. 2^c *tanmā śaṭhaḥ kitavaḥ pratyadevī* !
7. 3. 125. 10^d *maivam mā paryāsaikithāḥ* ! (Dc na)
8. 3. 205. 8^d *mā tvā dharmo' tyagān mahān* ! (G4 *atigāt*)
9. 3. 253. 20^f *mā vaḥ kālaḥ kṣipram iha atyagād vai* !
(K3. 4 *atigāt*)
10. 3. 253. 21^b *mā asmatsakāśe parusāṇy avocaḥ* !
(K1. 4 M1 *vācaḥ*)
11. 4. 13. 18^d *te tvām nihanyuḥ kupitāḥ sādhy alam mā vyanīnaśaḥ* ! (CŚ1 Cr *vinīnaśaḥ*)
12. 4. 15. 39^a *kicako māvadhīt tatra surāhārīm gatām tava* (B4 *mā vadhīt*)
13. 4. 221*.1 *evam nivasamānāyām mayi mā te bhayam hy abhūt* !
14. 5. 20. 21^d *mā vaḥ kālo' tyagād ayam* !
15. 5. 93. 52^d *mā manyuvaśam anvagāḥ* !
16. 5. 122. 31^d *mā manyuvśam anvagāḥ* !
17. 5. 122. 58^b *mā parābhūt idam kulam* !
18. 5. 125. 2^d *mā manyuvaśam anvagāḥ* !
19. 5. 172. 7^f *mā te kālo' tyagād ayam* !

IX *mā* WITH THE PERFECT

1. 4. 30. 7^f *tān parīpsa manuṣyendra mā neśuḥ paśavaḥ tava* ! (G 1.2 *mā naśyat*, M *mā naśyan*)

X *mā* WITH THE FUTURE¹

1. 1. 26. 11^b *putra mā sāhasam kārṣīr mā sadyo lapsyase vyathām* !
2. 1. 119. 8^c *mā drakṣyasi kulasyāśya ghoram samkṣayam ātmanah* [N1.2 BD (except D5) *drākṣis tvam*]
3. 3. 114. 8^c *mā parasvam abhidrogdhā mā dharmān sakalān naśīḥ* !

¹ Dr. Speijer, Sanskrit Syntax, p. 247. 353 R 4.

4. 3.720*.1 *mā vṛthā prāpsyase vadham* ।
5. 3.147.5^d *mā tvaṁ prāpsyasi vaiśasam* ।
6. 3.147.6^d *mā tvaṁ prāpsyasi vaiśasam* ।
7. 3.147.14^d *mā tvā neṣye yamakṣayam* ।
8. 3.238.35^f *dhṛtiṁ grhṇita mā śatrūṇ śocantau nandayī-
syathaḥ* ।
9. 4.13.17^a *mādyā tyakṣyasi jivitam* । (D6 *mā atyatyākṣit*)
10. 4.303*.8 *mā gamiṣyasi durbuddhe gatiṁ durgāntarān-
taram* । (G1 *na āgamiṣyati*)

XI *mā* WITH THE AUGMENTLESS CONDITION

1. 3.237.7^c *parāmarśo mā bhaviṣyat kuṛudāreṣu sarvadā* ।
(K3 TG2 M1 *nābhaviṣyat*)

XII *mā* WITH THE BENEDICTIVE

1. 5.103.30^c *mai'vaṁ bhūya iti snehāt tadā cainam uvāca
ha* (K1 B5 Ds G1 Ca.d *bhūyāḥ*)

XIII *mā* WITHOUT VERBS

1. 1.2.186^a *maivam ity abravīt kṛṣṇaḥ śamayāns tasya
tad vacaḥ* ।
2. 1.1176*.1 *aprajātvam manuṣyendra sādhu mā puṣkare-
kṣaṇa* ।
3. 1.169.7^a *mā tāta tāta tāteti na te tāta mahāmuniḥ* ।
4. 3.104.22^d *mā te buddhir ato'nyathā* ।
(D3.5 *mā te bhūd buddhir anyathā*)
5. 3.109.9^a *vātam cāhūya mā śabdaṁ ity uvāca sa tāpasah* ।
[S (except T2 G3) *mā śabda*]
6. 3.140.15^b *kṛṣṇāṁ sarve rakṣata mā pramūdam* ।
7. 3.152.12^c *mā maivam iti sakrodhair bhartsayadbhiḥ
samantataḥ* ।
8. 3.178.49^c *maivam ity abruvan bhīmam* । (B3.4 *naivam*)
9. 3.193.20^b *mā te buddhir ato'nyathā* ।
(Ś1 K D1.2.5 *mā te bhūd buddhir anyathā*)
10. 3.1003*.1 *mā sma kruddha balākeva* ।
11. 3.1109*.1 *sāmnaiḥ tatra vikrāntā mā sāhasam iti
prabho* ।
12. 3.262.35^d *maivam ity abravīd vacaḥ* ।
13. 3.266.11^d *mā cīram* । (also 1.1.161^b)

14. 5.143.12^c sūtaputra iti mā śabdaḥ pārthas tvam asi
vīryavān ।
15. 5.166.25^d mā sma taiḥ saha saṅgamaḥ ।
16. 5.582*.4 mā rāmeti abruvan vacaḥ ।

XIV. COMPOUND WITH *mā*

1. *mācīram* - 1.18.2^d; 1.41.10^d; 1.198.24^b; 1.1985.*4; 1.209.17^d;
1.2140*.1; 3.59*.4; 3.52.8^d; 3.68.16^d; 3.122.15^f; 3.185.45^d;
3.215.13^d; 3.232.6^d; 3.221.27^d; 3.235.15^d; 3.241.35^d;
3.247.36^d; 3.1245*.1; 3.281.98^b; 4.42.31^d (D1.3 *vācīrāt*);
4.186.*4; 5.22.*1; 5.9.10^d; 5.10.13^d; 5.33.1^d; 5.97.20^d;
5.102.7^b; 5.104.26^d; 5.105.19^d; 5.177.5^d (T2 G *mā cīram*);
5.178.22^d; 5.192.23^d;
2. *mācīrāt* - 1.1976.*1.
3. *mādirgham* - 4.20.13^a.

I. *na* WITH THE AUGMENTED AORIST

1. 5.30.3^b *na* no'kārṣīḥ ।
2. 5.89.13^d *na* agrahīḥ ।
3. 5.39.21^d *na* amainsthāḥ ।

II. *na* WITH THE AUGMENTLESS AORIST

1. 3.31.9^{ab} *nāvmanīsthā* hi sadṛśān śreyaśaḥ kutaḥ ।
2. 3.134.27^{ab} *agnir* dahañ jātavedāḥ satām gr̥hān
visarjayam̐s tejasā *na sma dhākṣīt* । (D3, *mā*;
TG1.3.4 *adhākṣīt*; G2 *vyadhā°*)
1. 5.35.30^b *na* kāmād anṛtam vadīḥ ।

III. COMPOUND WITH *na*¹

1. *nākasmāt* - 3.282.29^c (K1.2 Dc D2 TG1.2.4 *na kasmāt*).
2. *nāgasam* - 1.71.39^b [K (except K3) ŃBDa Dn D1.2.4.5
āgatān D3 S *anāgasam*].
3. *nātikṛcchrāt* - 1.27.7^d; 1.119.17^d
4. *nātikovidam* - 4.38.1^d (S *akovidam*).

¹ It is interesting to note that the etymological formation of two personal names namely, *nakula* (4.167.*1) and *saramā* (Rāmāyaṇa 7. 12. 27) is made by being compounded with *na* and *mā* respectively. For this, see my paper on 'Epic Etymologies' which will be shortly published.

5. *nāligāḍham* - 4.120*.51
6. *nālicaran* - 1.110.13^c (T2G1.2.4 *nābhi* (G4 *oti*) *caret* ; G3 *nāticare* ; M6-8 *nāticaret* ; Ś1 *na vicaran* ; Ko *avicaran* ; K2 B1m D (except Da D1.4) *api caran* ; Da D4 *avicaran* ; K3 Ñ2.3 B1.3.5 *api caran* ; K4 B6 *abhi* (B6 °vi) *carah* ; M3 *api care*]
7. *nāticiram* - 1.145.2^c [TG (G6 *om*) *suciram*] ; 3.153.31^c.
8. *nāticirāt* - 3.290.2^d
- 8^a. *nātidīrgham* - 3.76.19^d
- 8^b. *nātidīrghena* - 3.106.7^a
9. *nātidūram* - 4.36.4^a
10. *nātidūrāt* - 1.817*.1
11. *nātidūre* - 1.138.36^a ; 3.154.21^a
- 11^a. *nātidhaninaḥ* - 3.97.10^a
12. *nātiprajñāḥ* - 5.110.20^a
13. *nātipraṇītaraśmiḥ* - 5.75.14^a
14. *nātiprītamanāḥ* - 1.1.93^a ; 4.263*.2
- 14^a. *nātibahuśrutāḥ* - 3.198.54^d
15. *nātibhāraḥ* - 1.55.36^a
16. *nātimanasam* - 5.178.9^a [K2.4.5 BD (except D1.2.7) *vai vīmanasam*]
17. *nātimahān* - 1.35.3^a [M2.3 (inf. lin. as in text). 4 *atīva mahān*]
18. *nātimahat* - 1.135.17^b [Ko.2 *nāpi mahat* ; K3.4 *nātha mahat*]
19. *nātimahatā* - 1.26.20^c ; 1.852*.3 ; 5.7.3^c [K1.2 D1 *atimahatā* ; D2.9 *mahatā*]
20. *nāttmahataḥ* - 1.81.3^c (K3 Dn1m *cātimahatā*)
21. *nātimānaḥ* - 3.198.87^c (Ś1 K1 2 Dc1 D4.6 G3 *anabhi mānaḥ* B Dc2 Dn *nābhīmānaḥ*)
22. *nātiyatnena* - 3.20.11
23. *nātiwelam* - 4.917*.22
24. *nātiśvasthā* - 3.214*.1
25. *nātihr̥ṣṭamanāḥ* - 1.51.18^c ; 3.8.13^c
26. *nātihr̥ṣṭāntarātma* - 1.51.3^c
27. *nātihrasvā* - 1.61.96^a [M (except M5) *na hrasvā*]
28. *nātyantam* - 1.1.185^c (Cd *atyantam*)
29. *nātyuṣṇaśiśiraḥ* - 5.140.17^d
30. *nābhāgarīṣṭadaśamān* - 1.70.14^c (D3 TG *tathaiivāriṣṭa*° ; M *tathaiiva diṣṭa*°)

31. *nābhūgeṣvākum* - 1.70.13^b
32. *nāryakarma* - 5.74.6^a
33. *nālpam* - 4.19.28^a
34. *nāvaraḥ* - 4.43.8^d (K2 D2-4 Cc *avarah*)
- 34^a *nāvarām* - 3.31.9^b
35. *nāstikaḥ* - 5.35.40^d; 5.137.7^b (G2 *krodhano*)
36. *nāstikāḥ* - 3.181.20^f; 3.898*.1; 3.188.22^c; 3.247.3^c
37. *nāstikān* - 3.198.66^a
38. *nastike* - 1.664*.1; 5.39.59^d
39. *nāstikeṣu* - 5.39.48^b
40. *bhṛśanāstikāḥ* - 3.923*.1
41. *nāstikyām* - 3.32.1^d; 3.32.38^d;
42. *nāstikyāt* - 3.32.5^d
43. *necchamānāḥ* - 1.1629*.2
44. *naikaḥ* - 5.38.24^d
45. *naikān* - 3.61.104^a (Ś1 D2.4 *ekān*; G4 *ekam*) 3.61.104^c;
3.61.104^d (D1 *anekān*)
46. *naikāḥ* - 3.61.104^b (Ś1 *ekāḥ*; D1 *anekāḥ*)
47. *naikasya* - 3.149.16^c (Ś1 K D1-3.5 *aparyāptas tavaikasya*;
T1 G2 *na caivaikasya* M *tavaikasya*)
48. *naikadhā* - 3.12.48^b
49. *naikapakṣigaṇākirṇām* - 1.64.18^c
50. *naikaratnavicitram* - 5.58.6^a
51. *naikarūpiṇaḥ* - 5.97.8^b (K1.2.5 B1.3 D1.5.8.10 G14
aneka°)
52. *naikaśatāḥ* - 5.134.9^a (K4 *aneka°*; B3 D1-4 *eka°*)
53. *nogram* - 5.72.19^d (G1 *krūram na*)
54. *nodvignāḥ* - 5.82.17^c
55. *nakusālam* - 5.88.56^d (K1 *akuśalam*)
56. *nagrhaḥ* - 1.86.5^a (K2 *agrhaḥ*; S *na gṛhasthaḥ*)
57. *naciram* - 4.35.4^a (B1.2 D8 *nāciram*)
58. *nacireṇa* - 3.163.13^c (K4 T2 G3.4 *acireṇa*)
4.177*.2 (K B3.4 D1-3.5-8.10 *acireṇa*; Dc *aticireṇa*)
59. *nacirāt* - 1.3.130 (D2-5 G3 M1 *acirāt*); 1.11.10^d;
1.20.1^d; 1.1389*.1; 3.66.22^a; 3.92.9^d; 3.92.22^c; 4.55.12^b;
5.11.21^f; 5.35.54^d; 5.38.26^d; 5.38.44^b (K1.5 B3.4 D3.4.8
acirāt) 5.101.24^c (S *acirāt*); 5.122.24^d; 5.126.29^d
5.160.16^c (K4 B Dn1 D8 D1.3.6-8.10 G1 *acirāt*) 5.192.27^b
60. *naduṣṭāḥ* - 4.72*.1 (B3 *na duṣṭāśvā*; D3 *aduṣṭāś ca*;
4.72*.2 (B2.4 D2.10 *aduṣṭāḥ*; D3 *na ca duṣṭā*;) 4.74*.2.

61. *nadūrayātā* - 3.253.16^d (Ś1 *adūra°* ; T2 G1.2.4 *na dūra-yātā*) ;
62. *nabhūtapūrvah* - 1.182.5^d (M6-8 *abhūtapūrvah*)
63. *namantravid* - 5.38.3^b (K1 M1.3-5 *nāmantravat* K2.4.5 M1.8 M2 *nāmantravit*) ;
64. *namohītau* - 5.111.3^d (K4 BDn *anumohītau* ; D3.4.9 *samāhītau* ; S *samāhītau*)
65. *nasamam* - 3.19.10^c ; 3.237.3^c ;
66. *nasukaram* - 3.13.103^d (T G2.4 M1.2 *asukaram*)
67. *nasvasthā* - 3.51.1^c (G1 *asvasthā*)
68. *nasvasthām* - 3.51.5^c (K2.3 B2-4 D2 3.4.6 DnTG1-4 M1 *asvasthām*)
69. *nasyota* - 3.31.25^b
70. *nahatam* - 3.22.7^d (M2 *anihatam*)

IV. *na* WITH THE POTENTIAL ¹

1. 1.47.16^c *kṣattāram neha me kaścit ajñātaḥ pravīṣed iti* ।
2. 1.132.12^a *yathā ca tvām na śaṅkeran parikṣanto'pi pāṇḍavāḥ* ।
3. 3.184.13^{ab} *na cāśucir nāpy anirṇiktapāṇir nābrahmaviḥ juhuyān nāvipaścit* ।
4. 3.203.45 *na hiṁsyāt sarvabhūtāni maitrāyaṇagataś caret । nedam jīvitaṁ āsādyā vairam kurvīta kenacit* ।
5. 4.32.12^d *na gacched dviṣatām vaśam* ।
6. 4.42.6^a *lobhād vā te na jānīyuh* ।
7. 5.10.24^d *tasmāt santaṁ na jighāṁseta dhīraḥ* ।
8. 5.24.8^c *na kāmārtham saṁtyajeyur hi dharmam* ।

¹ Whitney, Sanskrit grammar, p. 217, 579, 580. He quotes the following instances from vedic literature. *na riṣyema* (RV) *na cātisrjeṇ na juhuyāt* (AV) ; *na kuryāt* (ŚB) *na divā śayīta* (SGS).

MISCELLANEA

In A. B. O. R. I. Vol. XXI pp. 280-284, Prof. V. S. Agrawala, M.A., has written some notes on the Mahābhārata. One or two subjects in them, which appeared to me to be calling for further elucidation, were referred to Vyākaraṇacārya Vinayak S. Tillu, Dharma Shastri, Professor in Sanskrit Maha Vidyalaya, Indore and I have pleasure in giving a gist of his remarks together with my speculations.

In his note on द्वैय and वैयाघ्र, Prof. Agrawala refers to गव्यकोश (mentioned in Mahā. Virāt. Parvan 38-40-55 verses 57-58). Now the word गव्य in the sense of "गोर्विकारः" is both masculine and feminine gender, Considering that the cow is held in such high esteem, as a holy animal, it is a question whether its skin was utilised as a covering for a scabbord? Possibly the leather of a bull was meant, as probably it is tougher than that of a cow. This question deserves still further elucidation.

The same Professor quotes Patañjali as follows :—

यावक्क्रीतिकः प्रेयंगविकः न्यायातिकः ।

(Ed. Kielhorn, Vol. II. p. 284) and observes that while the first and the last Ākhyānas or stories are well-known, the middle one is now not found to exist in any book. Subandhu's Vasavadatta mentions a wife of Vasavadatta named प्रियङ्गुशामा. Does Patañjali refer to this reference which may have been detailed in the original work of गुणादय, which was probably available to Patañjali, he being nearer the time of the former ?

M. V. Kibe

AN INTERNAL EVIDENCE AS REGARDS THE AGE OF THE BHAGVADGĪTĀ

Embedded in the 9th chapter, which is held to be of राजविद्या and राजयज्ञ, thus according to the ancients, comparatively at least, and tradition of some standing, the most important chapter in this great work, are the following lines.

स्त्रियो वैश्यास्तथा शूद्रास्तेऽपि यांति परां गतिम् ॥
किं पुनर्ब्राह्मणाः पुण्या भक्ता राजर्षयस्तथा ।

In a paper read by me before the 6th Oriental Conference held at Patna in December 1930, and published in its proceedings, I had tried to give a ground for holding that the Gītā was post Buddhist. To my mind the hemistiches quoted above support the same theory.

These lines are not foreign or redundant to the context and therefore, cannot be called to be interpolations. They quite fit in where they are and therefore must be held to be a part of the argument of the original work.

These two lines make a distinction between the two classes, one पापयोगिनः (unholy ones) and the other called in contrast as पुण्याः (holy ones), and in the former category are culled women, merchants and servants, i. e. besides women, are included the last two of the four castes, as belonging to the पाप division. Brahmans are put in the holy पुण्य division, while of the warrior caste people, those who are devotees are alone included.

There was no such distinction in pre-Buddha time. Even among the teachers, which is the main quality of Brahmans, are found women as well as members of the four castes. It is not necessary to quote instances, since there is no dispute about this fact. It was only after the Buddha that his preachings appealed more closely to Vaiśyas, Śūdras and women and some Kṣatriyas and those are exactly the categories of the human beings or society who are relegated to the unholy (पाप) division. The qualification of being a भक्त (devotee) in the case of a Kṣatriya, is also remarkable and supports the idea since no such qualification is required in the case of a Brahman, be-

cause among the followers of the Buddha there were only a few such. It is also well-known that even the delayed and reluctant admission of women by Gautama, the Buddha in the Saṅghas, introduced immorality and eventually were a strong factor in their deterioration and fall from the high ideals, by, for instance, the introduction of idol worship, which appeals to women most. These circumstances must have been a strong reason for including women, among पापयोनयः:

Had the Gītā been, at least in its present form, pre-Buddhist, no such distinction among the followers of the Vaidik or Brahmanic religion can be conceived. The alluring inducement to these पापयोनयः to follow the teaching of the Gītā points to the same thing.

M. V. Kibe

THE SANCTION BEHIND THE TEACHING OF THE BHAGVADGĪTĀ

In order to make the Bhagvadgītā a bulwark against the different philosophies prevailing after the spread of Buddhism in India, several hands appear to have made attempts to strengthen the shape given to it for the purpose. The attempt has immensely succeeded as can be judged from the fact of the existence of numerous and continuous commentaries on it, to elucidate its meaning and also from the fact that it destroyed the teaching of the Buddha and made clear the way for the establishment of the reformed Vedic religion, which became not only more popular, by becoming less ritualistic and which assumed a shape, which catered for all classes and more or less developed intellect of the common people.

Besides those, who have been commenting by way of explanation and expatiation, upon the entire Gītā, several critics have come forward to dissect its body in order to find the main argument of the work by discarding what appear to them to be incongruous, contradictory or extraneous matter and thus giving it a reasonable shape, according to the view held by an individual

critic. Undoubtedly the lead in this direction has been taken by Western Scholars, but there have been Indians, who mostly led by the anxiety to fit in the work in the surrounding in which it is set, viz ; the atmosphere of the Mahābhārata war, have shortened it to seven or confine it to about seventy, stanzas.

But perhaps the most withering and scattering criticism to which work has been subjected is by the Latent Light Culture of Tinneveli. But they having made it confidential it is not possible to do anything more than allude to it, so that if and when the veil put upon it is removed, the whole teaching may be availed of. Mention of it is simply made to show that the process of the examination of the text of the Bhagvadgītā is not yet over, but it is possible to put in new stanzas so as to bring out of it the meaning that, according to the critic; may be a complete whole and not discursive.

The text sponsored by the Shuddha Dharma Mahā Mandal, which has its head-quarters at Madras, is already before the public. About it, however, it is to be remarked that instead of helping to reduce the mass of doctrine, or doctrines, it has introduced the new element of sectarian worship in it by including additional of matter from other parts of Mahābhārata.

It is, however, not much hazardous to point out the main argument of the Gītā in a couple of stanzas, the rest being but an attempt to expand the theme in an understandable way to the less erudite and to those common people whose intellectual acumen is of the average kind.

In chapter 2, the second line of the stanza 37 is as follows :--

तस्माद्गुत्तिष्ठ कौन्तेय युद्धाय कृतनिश्चयः ॥

Therefore Kaunteya - an affectionate name of Arjuna - making resolve to fight, get up.

(It should be re-called here that Arjuna had sat down dejected, in the hind portion of the chariot).

Obviously the argument referred to by " Therefore " is in the portion preceding this part.

Śrī Kṛṣṇa opens his discourse as follows :--

अशोच्यानन्वशोचस्त्वं प्रज्ञावादांश्च भाषसे ।
 गतास्तु न गतास्तुश्च नाहुशोचंति पण्डिताः ॥
 न त्वेवाहं जातु नासं न त्वं नेमे जनाधिपाः ।
 न चैव न भविष्यामः सर्वे वयमतः परम् ॥

You are lamenting for those, for whom you should not lament, and yet talk about knowledge. Knowers do not lament (whether the dead or the not dead). It is not that I was not in the past, neither that you and those rulers of men were not so, nor shall we be existing in the future.

The three stanzas that follow

देहिनोऽस्मिन्यथा देहे कौमारं यौवनं जरा ।
 तथा देहांतरप्राप्तिर्धीरस्तत्र न मुह्यति ॥
 मात्रास्पर्शास्तु कौतये शीतोष्णसुखदुःखदाः ।
 आगमापायिनोऽनित्यास्तांस्तितिक्षस्व भारत ॥
 यं हि न व्यथयंत्येते पुरुषं पुरुषर्षभ ।
 समदुःखसुखं धीरं सोऽमृतत्वाय कल्पते ॥

are an argument to show the utter unreality of the outer phenomena.

The stanza that follows clinches the argument.

नास्ततो विद्यते भावो नाभावो विद्यते सतः ।
 उभयोरपि दृष्टोऽतस्त्वनयोस्तत्त्वदर्शिभिः ॥

What does not exist cannot be taken to exist, nor what is real can be said to be non-existent. Knowers have seen the truth contained in this statement.

Thus in a nut-shell is given the *Māyāvāda*, so ably expanded by Śaṅkarācārya. There is unreality in the phenomena, as people have been, are and will be in existence under it. All this is obvious and therefore unreal. But there is something real behind it, which the philosophers alone know or realise. Common people like Arjuna should do what appears to be their duty, irrespective of the fruits of labour. They must learn to labour and no more.

M. V. Kibe

REVIEWS

ŚRIMADBHAGAVADGĪTĀ with SARVATOBHADRĀ of RĀJĀNAKA RĀMAKANTHA, Edited by T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A., Ph.D., being *Madras University Sanskrit Series No. 14*, University of Madras, 1941, Price Rs. 5-4-0.

RĀJĀNAKA RĀMAKANTHA'S commentary on the *Bhagavad-gītā* was first brought to the notice of scholars by Dr. F. OTTO SCHRADER in his well-known brochure on *The Kashmir Recension of the Bhagavadgītā*, Stuttgart, 1930. The commentary is based on the Kashmir version of the Poem, and is fairly extensive and important. Mr. S. N. TADPATRIKAR, M.A., of the B. O. R. Institute has also edited for *The Anandashram Sanskrit Series* the same commentary, which was published in 1939. The present edition, although undertaken earlier than TADPATRIKAR'S edition, appeared two years later; but it is a much more reliable and pains-taking work than the former. The edition contains, besides a valuable Introduction of over 80 pages (wherein excerpts from the most important but fragmentary commentary of BHĀSKARA on the BG are for the first time brought to the notice of scholars), an Index of Ardhas or half-stanzas and an Index of Citations. There is a short Foreword contributed by Dr. C. KUNHAN RAJA, the Head of the Department of Sanskrit in the University of Madras.

The controversy as to whether the Kashmir Recension of the *Bhagavadgītā* is an earlier pre-Śaṅkara form of the Poem has already called forth extensive controversial literature into existence.¹ The discovery of BHĀSKARA'S commentary sheds a welcome light on the subject. ABHINAVAGUPTA quotes² with respect BHĀSKARA'S commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā*. Presumably, on the dictum '*Entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem*,' that commentary is identical with the one fragments of which have been now brought to light. Dr. CHINTAMANI has made it very probable by means of adequate extracts that the author of the fragments is the same as the Vedāntin who

¹ See my Introduction to the edition of the BG. with the *Anandavardhinī*, pp. 16 ff., where a few references to earlier literature on the subject are given.

² Apud xviii. 2—अत्र चाध्याये यद्वशिष्टं वक्तव्यमस्ति, तत् प्राक्तनैरेव तत्रभवद्भट्टमास्करादिभिर्वितत्य विमृष्टम् etc.

mercilessly criticises Śaṃkara *Māyāvāda* in his *Bhāṣya* on the *Vedāntasūtras*. Hence if ŚAṂKARA is known to BHĀSKARA, he must be *ipso facto* known to ABHINAVAGUPTA; and even if the BHĀSKARA known to ABHINAVA be a different man, still it cannot positively be said that ABHINAVAGUPTA was unacquainted with ŚAṂKARA'S *Bhagavadgītābhāṣya*, because in places ¹ ABHINAVA cites explanations which verbally agree with, or are akin to, those of ŚAṂKARA; and when so early a commentator as the Vedāntin BHĀSKARA cites ŚAṂKARA'S *Gītābhāṣya*,² the doubt raised as to the authenticity of the latter³ will be seen to be gratuitous. Dr. CHINTAMANI has given enough evidence to show that even Kashmirian commentators on the *Bhagavadgītā*, while mainly following the Kashmirian recension, knew and at times adopted the Vulgate or NILAKANTHA recension of the *BG*. I have elsewhere shown⁴ that the Kashmirian readings are in the majority of cases secondary, as being deliberate attempts to remove irregularities of grammar or syntax, or improve the sense. In Kashmir the popularity of this secondary recension is due to the prestige lent to it by a number of learned commentators who flourished in the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries, but it cannot claim to be regarded as the original form of the *BG*.

The extra stanzas which are found in the Kashmirian recension cannot be said to have originally belonged to the *BG*, and subsequently omitted from it. In a work like the *Bhagavadgītā* the tendency rather would be to make additions than omissions. Nor is the Kashmirian recension alone in having extra stanzas. In some of the Mss. hailing from other parts of India extra stanzas, more than half a dozen, are found.⁵

The *Gītāmāna* stanza of six lines—षड्शतानि सर्विज्ञानि &c.—which gives the extent of the *BG* as 745 stanzas is comparatively recent, and is not much known outside the Kashmir recension.

¹ Compare under iii. 14 Abhinava's reference अन्ये तु, अन्नं तावदीर्यलोहित-क्रमेण धृतकारणम् &c. with Śaṃkara's अन्नाद्गुणाल्लोहितेन परिणतात् प्रत्यक्षं भवन्ति जायन्ते भूतानि etc. Also op. under ii. 59, iv. 34, vi. 25, viii. 6, ix. 23 etc.

² See Chintamani's Intro. pp. xxviii ff.

³ First mooted by B. FADDEGON in his Doctorate thesis on *Śaṃkara's Gītā-bhāṣya*, Amsterdam 1906, and more or less endorsed by F. OTTO SCHRADER. Introduction to the *Ānandavārdhīnī*, pp. 18 ff.

Cf. the work above cited, p. 22.

It cannot therefore be cited to prove the originality and authenticity of the Kashmir recension, which, it is argued, has preserved for us a few of these extra stanzas. If reliance is to be placed on the above stanzas, it would be in the first place necessary to find a *Gītā* in which not only the total extent, but the details of the individual speakers' totals agree. The contention that the Persian translator of the *BG* knows a *Gītā* of 745 stanzas has no probative force, because the Persian version is merely giving a Persian translation of the *Gītāmāna* verse, the actual *Gītā* text presupposed by the version being practically identical with the current text of 700 or 701 stanzas.

The extra stanzas found in the Kashmir recension now before us total $17\frac{1}{2}$ ślokas, 10 of them assigned to Kṛṣṇa and $7\frac{1}{2}$ to Arjuna. That will not obviously help us in arriving at the detailed figures mentioned by the *Gītāmāna* stanzas for each speaker. The RĀJAVĀIDYA of Gondal has recently unearthed a *Gītā* of 745 stanzas, but it has no higher value than the *Suddha Dharma Māṇḍala Gītā*. Gondal's latest seeks to reach the desired figure by importing the requisite number of stanzas from some late and sectarian *Upaniṣads* (amongst them a stanza from the *Mūṇḍūkya-Upaniṣad-Kārikā* of *Gauḍapāda*!). In a paper (in Marathi) published in the *Puruṣārtha* of March 1942, pp. 313-320, I have examined the claim of this new recension of the *Gītā* to be the long-sought original *Gītā*, and found it altogether untenable.

I have already suggested a theory as to how the idea of a *Bhagavadgītā* of 745 stanzas arose.¹ That theory in a slightly revised form I hope to publish shortly along with the Persian Translation of the *Gītāsāra*. I will not therefore try to answer here Dr. Chintamani's objections to it.

The Index of Ardhās given at the end of the volume under review is no doubt very useful; but it labours under the grave defect of playing fast and loose with a strictly rigorous alphabetical sequence.

We congratulate Dr. Chintamani upon this meritorious publication, which will be found indispensable for a critical study of the *Bhagavadgītā*.

S. K. Belvalkar

10-4-1943

¹ "The Bhagavadgītā 'Riddle' Unriddled" *Annals BORI*, Vol. xix, pp. 335-348.

ŚRĪMAN MAHĀBHĀRATA TĀTPARYA NIRNAYA—

Adhyāyas 1-9, with English translation and Notes by
B. Gururaja Rao, B.A., B.L., Retd. Subjudge, Bangalore,
Price Two Rupees.

This work of the great Dvaita teacher Ānanda Tīrtha, popularly called Śrī Madhvācārya, is, among others, studied, and used also for daily pāṭha purposes, by many followers of the Dvaita School. The teacher has also composed similar Tātparya Nirṇayas for the Bhagavadgītā and the Bhāgavata purāṇa. The work under review, as the author himself says, gives, in its first adhyāya a summary of Dvaita principles, based on the old sacred literature, and in the following adhyāyas gives, the story of the Mbh. in a different setting, as can be seen by its comparison with the extant text of the Great Epic. The reason given by the learned author, is

कच्चिद्वन्थान्प्रक्षिपन्ति कच्चिदन्तरितानपि ।

कुपुः कच्चिच्च व्यत्यासं प्रमादात्कच्चिदन्यथा ॥

“Interpolations, omissions, transpositions in the original text, either through ignorance, or otherwise,” these form the basis, as can be readily seen, of the modern Science of Textual Criticism. This is not the place to see whether the methods at present followed by the modern research scholars, agree with those followed by the great Dvaita Teacher of the 12th century; still the fact that the principles had been clearly laid down, in these times, does great credit to Indian scholarship.

A most unfortunate—may I say, vicious!—tendency has developed even among Indians, to study Sanskrit text from English translations and Notes, without ever caring to know what the original Sanskrit text contains; and the evil that arises out of this, is, that the carelessness or ignorance, of the translator, which is solely responsible for misinterpretation of the original text, is taken by the reader to be the opinion of the original author. English studies being mainly encouraged,

Sanskrit studies have been neglected, and numerous misconceptions have, in these days, come out as a result.

Sanskrit scholarship requires a thorough understanding of the original Sanskrit texts, but the layman or even one who cares to know, does not see the propriety of this principle, and is satisfied with the translation offered. This will show the great responsibility lying upon the translator, and the learned Mr. Gururaja Rao is to be congratulated for the care he has taken in rendering his English translation as close to the original, as possible. The Notes, too, culled out from an unpublished commentary by Śrī Vādirāja, are helpful to the reader, and we recommend the work to the general student, who would like to study the great Dvaita teacher, by having recourse to English translation.

The volume under review contains only the portion pertaining to the Rāmāyaṇa; it would be necessary to have the remaining portion of the original work, to give us a correct idea of how Śrī Madhva presents his real Bhārata Tātparya Nirpaya.

S. N. Tadpatrikar

THE PRTHVIRAJAVIJAYA OF JAYANAKA with the commentary of Jonarāja. Edited by Mm. Rai Bahadur Sāhitya Vācaspati Dr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha, D.Litt. (Hony) and the Late Pandit Chandradhar Sharma Gulari, B. A., Ajmer, 1941, Price Rs. 5.

This is a critical edition of the birch-bark Ms. of the *Prthvirājaviṇaya*, which was first discovered by Bühler in 1867. This should have been a standard work on the early Rajput history, particularly for the Prthvirāja-Shahbuddin Ghori wars, but for the fact that the manuscript was mutilated, and the portion dealing with the hero's abduction of Saṃyuktā and the consequent wars with Jayachandra, and the Muslim invader is missing from the present manuscript.

However, in the absence of any other contemporary Indian

records and other copies of this manuscript, Dr. Ojha has done well in editing the present Ms. from a single copy. For though the most important portion, as pointed out above, is missing, still the extant portion-cantos I-XII, will surely help, as Dr. Ojha hopes, 'students of the history of India, particularly that of Rajputana'.

This may be pointed out briefly. While the work is of undoubted help for the history of the pre-Pr̥thvirāja history of the Cāhamānas (Cauhānas), as pointed out by Bühler long ago, contradict as it does the *Raso* of Chanda Bardai, and supports the epigraphical evidence, it is also of importance for the political history of the countries adjacent to Rajputana, Gujarat, Malwa, Bengal and Karnatak, as well as for the references to temples of gods and goddesses at Puskara, Narapura, Somanatha, Broach. In Canto V, verse 51, we have a welcome corroboration of the traditions according to which Solanki Gurjara (Caulukya) Mūlaraja, who had fled to the fort of Kanthkot in Cutch was besieged there by the Chauhan King Vighraharāja.

H. D. Sankalia

JAINISM AND KARNĀTAKA CULTURE by S.R. Sharma,

M.A., Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar,
1940, pp. I-XIX: p-213, Price Rs. 5/-. Foreword by
A. B. Latthe, Esq., M. A., LL.B., M. L. A.

Mr. Sharma was one of the earliest students of Father Heras and the work under review formed a part of the thesis 'Jainism in South India', which he wrote under Father Heras' guidance at the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. A portion of it relating to Karnataka is now published on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Karnatak Historical Research Society.

The work is divided into five parts: 1 Historical Survey, 2 Contributions: Literature, Art and Architecture, 3. Idealism and Realism, 4. Karnataka Culture, 5, Appendices.

In part 1 the author has succeeded in showing that from the historical times till the present Jainism received some sort of patronage from the principal dynasties which ruled over Karnataka, while at times, as under the Gaṅgas, it became a state religion. It is gratifying to know that the present Mysore kings uphold the traditions of their predecessors.

In part 1 the author narrates the work of Jain writers, who flourished in Karnataka. Unfortunately most of the extant works of these writers are in manuscript form. Unless these are edited and published, as are the Śvetāmbara works of Gujarāt, our knowledge of Karnataka Jainism, which was preponderantly Digambara, will remain superficial. Likewise a true idea of Jain Contribution to Karnataka art, architecture, sculpture, iconography and cults can be had only when numerous Jain, unrecorded and recorded, inscriptions and monuments are systematically studied. At present it would seem, as has been already pointed out by Coomaraswamy, that Jaina art, architecture etc, formed a part of the prevailing regional and dynastic style, be it Chalukya or Hoysala in Karnataka ; or Solanki in Gujarat, or Chandalla at Khajuraha.

It is no wonder that Jainism is now not as it was during the time of its first introduction in Karnataka, and has not lived up to its ideal. For apart from the fact that principles and practice always differ, the environment in which a religion has to flourish always counts, and great Teachers, Buddha himself, had from time to time incorporated modifications into the rules of life of his followers.

In the north as well as in the south Jain archaeology has not received as much attention as it should from scholars. Both exploration and exhaustive study of the known monuments is necessary. This is no less true of its literature. Both these studies can profit if young students come forward, preferably Jain and from different respective religions so that they will be able to do justice to the subject by their training and understanding.

H. D. Sankalia

THE LAW OF WAR AND PEACE IN ISLĀM (A Study in Muslim International Law), by Majid Khaddūrī, Ph.D., London, 1941. Price Sewn 6, cloth 8 ; pp. 132 ; size 9" × 6".

This interesting book of Dr. Khaddūrī is to be hailed as a nice and handy work on Muslim International Law.

Dr. Khaddūrī, in this volume, attempts to "study the theory and practice of Muslim Law with regard to non-Muslim communities as revealed in the *Qurān*, *Hadīth* and the writings of the Muslim jurist-theologians," and limits the field of his work only to the "first four centuries of the Islāmic era."

The book is divided into three Parts: Part I deals with the Fundamental Concepts of Muslim Law ; Part II with the Law of War and Part III with the Law of Peace.

In Part I, Chapter I, the author discusses the problem whether or not Islām was meant to be a religion for the whole universe and then finds justification for the need of International Law in Islām. In Chapter II, he discusses the Nature and Sources of Law, i. e. the *Qurān*, the *Sunnah*, the *Ijmā* and the *Qiyās*. Referring to the collection of Hadīth the author remarks that the "deeds and sayings of the Prophet Muḥammad were not recorded after his death as was the case with the *Qurān*," which statement is historically incorrect, for we know that the work of recording in black and white the traditions of the Prophet was already undertaken even during the life time of the Prophet.

In the Introduction to part II, Chapter III, the author, after discussing the limited expansion of Islām, points out that there were two divisions of the world: '*Dāru'l-Islām*' and '*Dāru'l-Harb*', the former corresponding to the Muslim Empire. In Chapter IV the author discusses the 'Foundations of the *Jihād*' and says: "the *Jihād* as such was not a casual phenomenon of violence ; it was rather a product of complex conditions existing while Islām worked out its doctrinal character". Giving due consideration to the Semitic Migration theory, the author remarks: "There were ... other factors which played a no less important rôle in fomenting the Muslim attitude towards the conquest of the world. There

were the religious and political factors, combined together, in such a way as to create in the minds of the Muslims the idea of a politico-religious mission to the whole world". Speaking about the peaceful character of the Prophet's early preaching the writer aptly remarks that war 'was not introduced into Arabia by Islām. It was already in existence among the Arabs'. "But the real importance of Islām," says the author, "lies in shifting the focus of attention of the tribes from their inter-tribal warfare to the outside world". In Chapter V he discusses the Nature and Principles of the *Jihād* and points out that the doctrine of the *Jihād*, as worked out by Muslim publicists, was a product of a later period of Islām, when the Empire had already been built up. He then traces the gradual evolution of the doctrine of the *Jihād*. In Chapter VI he shifts on to describing the various types of the *Jihād*: 1. Against Polytheists, 2. Against Secession, 3. Against Dissension, 4. Against Deserters, Gangsters and Robbers. Ibn Rushd mentions a fifth type also, viz. the *Ribāṭ* or Safeguarding of the Frontiers. A Sixth, namely, against the *Scriptuaries* has also been mentioned. In Chapter VII the author enters into a rather interesting topic, namely 'The initiation of War'. The duty of 'declaring' the war always rested with the Prophet and his Successors, the Caliphs. Without such 'declaration' it could never commence. Before declaring war the Prophet and his Successors resorted to a custom of 'inviting' the polytheists either to accept Islām or to agree to pay the tribute. The author adduces historical evidence to show that this custom, which had the force of law, was strictly and invariably observed by the Prophet and his Successors. Historical evidence has also been produced by the author to show that negotiations had also been resorted to before declaring war. In Chapter VIII, the author comes to discuss a very important topic, namely, 'Military Methods'. He first enumerates the necessary qualifications of a *Jihād*ist, then he shifts on to the 'Command', 'the Composition of the Army' and finally to the 'Conduct of Fighting'. In Chapter IX he indulges into a legal problem, namely, the 'Status of Persons and Property in War'. In Chapter X the author describes the 'Termination of Fighting', by (i) complete Surrender by the enemy, (ii) Treaty of Peace and (iii) by Arbitration.

Part III commences with an Introduction followed by chapters on *Amān*, Treaties, Arbitration, Status of the Dhimmīs and Diplomacy in Islām, and comes to an end with Conclusions. Of all these chapters, those dealing with Treaties and Conclusions are instructive and readable.

So much for the contents of the book. It remains now to be pointed out that the subject which the author has dealt in the book under review has been already handled by European Orientalists and Indian Scholars and very little new has been added by the author. Of course, he deals with the subject in a critical manner, although at times he is unwittingly carried away by Christian missionary points of view. Be that as it may, we appreciate the work of Dr. Khaddūrī and hope that he will produce in the near future other works of scholarship and learning that will open a new vista for Orientalists and students of Islāmic Studies.

Shaikh Chānd Husain

ARABICA & ISLAMICA, by Mr. U. Wayriffe, revised edition, published by Messrs. Luzac & Co., London, 1940. Pages 416, '10¼ × 6½'. Fifteen shillings.

These select pieces of translation, sketches and essays on subjects connected with Arabic language and literature and Islāmic Studies, contain a good deal of readable matter, although the author, owing to modesty, does not claim erudition for it. It would, nevertheless, be unfair to call the work '*merely popular*', for it contains much that is likely to prove useful to many a student of Arabic and Islāmic Studies.

There are at least thirteen main pieces of which the largest is the one that gives extracts from the *SAHĪH* of Bukhārī, one of the chief works on *HADITH*. Among other essays those on language (Ch. I), Early Literature (Ch. II), Life of Muḥammad (Ch. III), Miracles (Ch. XX), Burying Alive of Female Infants (Ch. XXI), Veiling of Women (Ch. XXII) and Historians (Ch. XXIII), contain very little that can be called original. A large

portion of the contents of Chapter III (Life of Muḥammad) is controversial and displays lack of critical appreciation on the part of the author, who seems to base his conclusions on older European writers. The entire paragraph on p. 38, beginning with " It is doubtful whether Muhammad ever formed a plan of universal conquest ... " is self-contradictory, for the author himself gives on that page and the following full details of the Prophet's plans. On pp. 50-51, the author reproduces the long-repudiated story of Mary the Coptic (see Amīr ' Ali, *The Spirit of Islām*, p. 235 note). Mr. Justice Amīr ' Ali's words may be reproduced here with advantage. :—

" The story told by Muir, Sprenger, and Osborn, with some amount of gloating of the domestic squabble between Hafsa and Muhammad, concerning Mary, the Coptic girl presented to the Prophet's household by the Negus, is absolutely false and malicious ".

Another instance in the narration of which many of the European critics of Islam seem to take great pleasure, and which has been also summarised by our author, is the absurd story of THE LIE. I need hardly point out that the very title by which this fictitious story is known sufficiently indicative of its character and should ordinarily suffice for the seekers of THE TRUTH.

' Antar and Beni Hilal ', and Ma ' arri's *Risālatu'l-Ghufṛān* are good ; more reliable and representative selection (in English translation) from the latter has been published by Dr. R. A. Nicholson, in the *JRAS*, ' Later Classical Poetry ' contains good selections from Mutanabbi and al-Ma ' arri, and makes a delightful reading. The most important of all the pieces is the author's translations of extracts from the *SAHĪH* of Bukhārī,

With all these things in view I congratulate Mr. Wayriff for his work and believe that as time passes his interest in Islamic and Arabic Studies will become greater and greater and that he will produce works of scholarship.

Shaikh Chānd Husain

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE RAMAYANA, N. A. Gore, M.A.,
Crown 8vo. vi, 99 pp. Poona, 1943. Price Rs. 1-8.

In this handy and useful compilation, which is meant both for a student and a scholar, Prof. Gore has given as many as 366 entries of the text-editions, translations, critical literature and papers on the Rāmāyaṇa. In the Appendix, the author has given many valuable extracts from the works of orientalists, who have studied the epic from various angles of vision. These are very useful to the students, for which they will be grateful to the author. We hope that this booklet will encourage our students to study critically the epic, which normally has been neglected in the University courses.

R. D. Vadekar

A HISTORY OF THE CANONICAL LITERATURE OF
THE JAINAS by Prof. H. R. Kapadia, M.A., Royal 8vo.
xii, 972 pp. Price Rs. 5, Surat, 1941.

In this book Prof. Kapadia has tried to give us the history of the Svetāmbar Jain Canon as it is known to us. The author has no doubt collected much traditional material bearing on the historical presentation of the extant Jain canon. But his presentation is very clumsy. The author has not made a very strict distinction between tradition and history. Later accounts given in commentaries, which are partly mythical or fabulous cannot have much historical value and the author has not tried to enter into problem of the relative ages of the various books of the Jain canon. Everyone agrees that the books which have been included in the canon do not belong to the same age; hence a chronological arrangement of the books is not only desirable, but a similar stratification in the body of the same book is also worth wishing for. The author has accumulated ample material from the traditional sources and the book can be used as such,

although the manner in which the material has been presented is likely to be tiresome to the student-world. Especially the last chapter which the author calls "comparison and evaluation" is fully illustrative of the author's style of the treatment of the subject. It is a store-house of all sorts of things, ranging from metaphysics and ethics to footwear, sticks and lullabies! We wish that the author had treated the subject more seriously, systematically and not huddled up things of uneven importance all together — The book gives two indexes, but we fail to see the purpose of their separation—and further the author's practice of arranging the titles of English works according to their pronunciation in the order of the Devanagari alphabet is very queer. Even in the same index we cannot understand why the author allowed the entry *Daśavaikālika* and *Daśaveyatiya* stand separately (p. 251). We cannot recommend the book whole-heartedly to our student-world.

R. D. Vadekar

JAIN SĀHITYA AUR ITIHĀSA (in *Hindi*) By Nathuram Premi, Crown 8vo. 20 616. Hindi Grantha Ratna Karyalaya, Bombay, 1942. Price. Rs. 3/-

The title of the work does not mean what it would mean *prima facie* i. e. it is not a history of Jaina literature or history of Jainism, but a collection of papers dealing with the problems of Jain literature and socio-historical topics relating to Jainism. Panditji, himself a devout Jain and a close student of Jain literature and religion, needs no introduction to the orientalists, although his work is unfortunately not available to the English-knowing public. Prof. Upadhye has written an introduction to the work in English, which brings out the importance of the research work of the Panditji and points out the rare and original material brought forward by the patient and diligent labour of the author. We very much wish that all these papers should be presented succinctly in English in some Journal, so that they would be utilised by the scholars working in the field.

Until Hindi becomes a language understood by everyone in India, this need would be felt. Panditji's papers are uniformly learned and replete with new material, especially his papers on the Literature of the Yāpaniya Saṅgha, Places of Pilgrimage of the Jains and his studies of the Apabhraṃśa works are extremely valuable. We heartily recommend this work to every lover of Jain literature.

R. D. Vadekar

THE DVAITA PHILOSOPHY AND ITS PLACE IN THE
VEDĀNTA. Studies in Philosophy. No. 1. By H. N.
Raghavendrachar, M.A., Crown 8vo. pp. 282. Published
by the University of Mysore, Mysore, 1941. Price Rs. 3.

The author, himself a devout Dvaitin, has presented in this book the philosophy of Madhvācārya succinctly and systematically. In fact such a work was long needed for the study of the great ācārya, who has been unnecessarily neglected in the philosophical world. Before the author proceeds to expose the main tenets of the Dvaita Vedānta, he has given briefly the systems of the Advaita and Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta and then in about 100 pages he summarises the system of Madhvācārya. One remarkable point of the author's presentation of the Dvaita Vedānta is that he tries to show that Dvaita in Madhva's philosophy cannot be correctly translated by *dualism*, as this supposes the existence of two independent and absolute principles. Hence the author proposes to call the system of Madhva as monism and tries further to distinguish it from the absolute monism of Śaṅkara and qualified monism of Rāmānuja. Another point worthy to note is the author's account as to how the weakness of the Advaita and Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta are met with in Madhva's system. We thank the author for this excellent presentation of the Dvaita Vedānta to students of Indian philosophy. The University should be congratulated for the excellent printing and get-up of the volume.

R. D. Vadekar

INDIA AS DESCRIBED IN EARLY TEXTS OF BUDDHISM
AND JAINISM, By Bimala Churn Law, Thesis approved
by the University of Lucknow for the degree of Doctor of
Literature. Demy 8vo. pp xiii, 315. Luzac & Co., London
1941.

In this book Dr. Law has collected together the geographical, historical and religio-philosophical information from Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain sources. The author has before him the classical model of Dr. Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*, the plan and arrangement of which the author has followed to a large extent. Obviously fuller material and fresh sources, opened by the researches of the orientalisists have made Dr. Law's book more complete and authoritative and we congratulate the author on having brought out this manual for the use of our University students who have to read a course in Ancient Indian History. The author has manifestly kept back much of his material on the origin and development of the various branches of learning and sciences. For instance on page 259 Dr. Law refers to the Indian sciences of medicine and surgery. Here he could have utilised the entire chapter of the Mahāvagga (vi) which is devoted to the use of drugs and their preparations, and which has preserved descriptions of a few surgical cases, treated by Jivaka Komārabhacca. This and other similar material have yet to be explored and evaluated by orientalisists. We hope Dr. Law will do so in the second edition of the book.—An excellent Index and a good map of Ancient India enhance the value of Dr. Law's work.

R. D. Vadekar

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HISTORICAL METHOD IN RELATION TO SOUTH INDIAN
HISTORY By K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A. University
of Madras, 1941. Pages 56. (Bulletin of the Department
of Indian History and Archaeology—No. 7). Rs. 1-12-0

This reprint of lectures delivered by Prof. Nilakanta Sastri in 1938 is a very welcome addition to the scanty literature on the subject. Considering the progress of University education in our country Historical study has unconscionably lagged behind. While in other advanced countries there is ample literature to guide the tyro on the path of scientific historical research, there is a sad dearth of it in India. Rev. H. Heras' introductory book on *Methodology of Indian History* is not available at present. Mr. V. S. Bendre's *Sādhana Cikitsā* written in Marathi and dealing with Maratha History is not of use to non-Marathi readers. Sir S. A. Khan's *The History and Historians of British India* is inadequate even for the period it deals with. A book of the type of F. J. Weaver's *The Material of English History* is badly needed for Indian students. Indeed as Mr. Sastri has remarked "The bibliographical aid now available on this side of the subject is none too extensive, and there is need of a detailed survey of the material that would enable the beginner to get at his sources without an undue waste of his time and energy in preliminaries."

The brochure under review comprises five chapters, viz. 1. General Principles; 2. Literary Evidence; 3. Archaeology; 4. Epigraphy; and 5. Chronology; with a very helpful Appendix on 'Hints to Students' and a short Bibliography. As the title indicates, the material chosen relates to South Indian History, and the scope of the lectures has made the treatment "necessarily only selective and illustrative". Yet, veteran scholar that Professor Sastri is, his presentation is masterly and meticulously scientific. Despite his terseness and rigorous standards, however, Prof. Sastri affords his readers, though occasionally, some humour such as when he writes critically: "In describing the prosperity of the court, our poets would think of nothing less than golden gates for palaces. Whenever I read of golden gates I think I can reasonably be sure only of this: that gold was known and that palaces had gates."

Altogether an edifying little book.

S. R. Sharma

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT MANUS-
CRIPTS IN THE ADYAR LIBRARY, VOL. I — VEDIC,
by K. Madhav Krishna Sharma, M.O.L. Adyar Library,
Adyar (Madras), 1942. Size $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 10''$, pp. XXXVI + 415,
Price Rs. 15.

The Adyar Library contains a valuable collection of Mss. bearing on all branches of Sanskrit learning and allied subjects. The manuscripts in this collection are being used by numerous scholars in India through the favour of the authorities of the Library. The Bhandarkar Research Institute itself has procured on loan for its members many Manuscripts from the Adyar Library during the last twenty-five years. The lists of Manuscripts published by the Adyar Library, in the absence of a full description of each Ms., have been found to be deficient in satisfying the curiosity of the researchers about the contents of each Manuscript and consequently the Adyar Library prepared a scheme for a complete descriptive catalogue of their collection of Mss. more than five years ago. Dr. F. O. Schrader, the then Director of the Library brought out Volume I (Upanisads) under this scheme in 1908. Subsequently the Library could not make any progress in this direction till about 5 years ago, when the authorities decided to continue the scheme according to a revised plan outlined by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon) in his Introduction to this Volume.

The present Volume containing a description of the Vedic Mss. in the Library by Shri K. M. K. Sharma, M.O.L. is Vol. I under the revised scheme. We are happy to note that the Adyar Library has been fortunate in having at its disposal the active co-operation and advice of a scholar of Dr. Raja's eminence, as also in having the services of a brilliant research assistant, Shri K. M. K. Sharma (now Curator of the Anup Sanskrit Library and Director of Oriental Publications, Bikaner) for the preparation and publication of this Volume.

We understand that the revised scheme of this Catalogue will comprise in all 12 volumes including the present Volume.

Subsequent Volumes may not appear exactly in the same order in which they are mentioned in Dr. Raja's scholarly Introduction to this Volume (p. 10). In whatever order the Volumes are published, the completion of the scheme will be hailed with delight by all Sanskrit scholars in India and outside. We feel confident that the authorities of the Library will exert themselves fully in the matter of issuing this set of catalogues with reasonable expeditiousness as they have done in the past with regard to their other publications.

The volume under review comprises a description of 1103 Vedic Mss. together with Indices of works noticed, authors of works noticed, works cited, authors cited, scribes, owners and others and place-names. An attempt has been made to compress as much useful description of each Ms as is possible within the limits of space imposed on the compiler without omitting essential details of the Mss. The Catalogue is prepared not merely for the use of students of Sanskrit Literature but also for those interested in the allied problems of Indology. A Descriptive Catalogue is not a History of Literature. In some of the early Descriptive Catalogues prepared by responsible scholars the historical aspect of each manuscript was specially kept in view by the compilers. But at a time when many libraries in India are full of Mss which have remained undescribed for the last half a century and when scholars are crying for an objective description of these Mss for use in connection with their research work, it may not be necessary to follow the method of elaborate description adopted by the early compilers of these catalogues as such a procedure would protract the preparation and publication of the Descriptive Catalogues of the Mss. in India to an indefinite period. Without, therefore, making a Descriptive Catalogue a ground for any display of scholarship for which fortunately there are innumerable research Journals now in India and outside, the compiler should try to confine himself to an accurate description of the Mss. before him and at the same time record references to other Descriptive Catalogues where copies of these works have been described by previous scholars. Such a procedure would obviate much repetition of the scholarly display and at the same time give us the necessary

description of each new Ms. not hitherto described. It is the business of a compiler to open the door to new sources of knowledge without prejudicing the reader's mind by discussing any theories pertaining to the works described. In short the compiler should concentrate more on the objective side of the Ms. than on its subjective side.

The Adyar Library, as Dr. Raja observes, is not meant for a mere conclave of specialists devoid of the wider interests of humanity. It is a place from which the real wisdom of ancient India is to emanate. Looking from this point of view also the Mss. in the Library provide the only bridge that connects the past with the present and it is the function of the compiler of a Descriptive Catalogue to point out the dependability or otherwise of the several planks of this formidable bridge for the guidance of those who care to use it with a cautious step.

We congratulate Mr. Sharma on the successful compilation of this Volume as also Dr. C. K. Raja under whose scholarly guidance the Volume has been prepared by Mr. Sharma. All Sanskrit scholars would be grateful to the authorities of the Adyar Library for the renewal of their Descriptive Catalogue scheme especially at a time when the difficulties in the way of publishing such volumes are almost insurmountable.

P. K. Gode

BOOKS RECEIVED

A College Text-book of
Indian History Volume III,
A. D. 1700 to 1941,
R. Sathianthaier, M. A., L. T.,
Rochouse & Sons, Ltd.,
Madras

A Hand-book of Virāṣaivism,
S. C. Nandimath, M. A., Ph. D.,
Literary Committee, L. E.
Association, Dharwar
16 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

Sculpture inspired by Kālidāsa,
C. Sivaramamurti, M. A.,
The Samskr̥ta Academy
Madras
Upadeshasāhasrī, Swāmi
Jagadānanda, Sri Rama-
krishna Math, Mylapore,
Madras
Līṅgadhāranacandrikā,
M. R. Sakhare, M. A., T. D.,
Thalakwadi, Belgaum

Some concepts of the Alamkāra
Śāstra, V. Raghavan,
M. A., Ph. D.,

The Adyar Library, Adyar
Vedāntaparibhāṣā,
S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri,
The Adyar Library, Adyar

The Bhagavad-Gītā and
Modern Scholarship,
S. C. Roy, M. A. (London),
I. E. S.,
Luzac & Co, London

The Early Muslim Expansion
in South India,
N. Venkataramanayya,
M. A., Ph. D.,
University of Madras

Vasanta Vilāsa, K. B. Yyas,
M. A.,
N. M. Tripathi & Co,
Bombay

Sri Rāmānujacampu, Prof.
P. P. S. Sastriyar, Madras
Prāsaṣti-Saṁgraha, Pandit
K. B. Śastri, Jain-
Siddhānta-Bhavan,
Arra

Ālambanaparīkṣā, N. A. Sastri,
The Adyar Library, Adyar

Hand list of Arabic, Persian
and Hindustani Mss. of
New College, Edinburgh,
R. B. Serjeant, Ph. D.,
(Cantab)

वीर-स्थुई, उपाध्याय जैनमुनि आत्मा-
रामजी, चौधरी बसन्तमल जैन
फरीदकोट (स्टेट)

Prakriyāsarvasva, C. Kunhan
Raja, University of Madras

The Doctrine of Karman in
Jain Philosophy, G. Barry
Gifford,
Bai Vijibai Jivanlal Panalal
Charity Fund, Bombay

The Nayaks of Tanjore, V.
Vridhagirisan, M. A.,
M. Litt., L. T.,
University of Annamalai,
Annamalainagar

Sanglitasārāmṛta, Pandit S.
Subrahmanya Sastri
Music Academy, Madras

Vidyākara-Sahasrakam,
Umesha Mishra,
Senate House Allahabad
An Introduction to Classical
Sanskrit, G. B. Shastri,
Modern Book Agency,
Calcutta

Bhāratīya-Tarka-Śāstra
Praveśa, Pandit R. Kokaje,
Lonavala

स्थानकवासी, जैनमुनि उपाध्याय श्री-
आत्मारामजी, लाला बलायती
रामकस्तुरी लाल जैन, छुधियाना



DR. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, M.A., PH.D.,
General Editor of the Critical Edition of the
Mahābhārata.

Born :
4th May 1887

Died :
21st January 1943

(Through the courtesy of Prof. D. D. Kosambi.)

IN MEMORIAM
VISHNU SITARAM SUKTHANKAR
1887-1943

The 21st of January 1943 drew a curtain, on the terrestrial plane, over the life of Dr. V. S. Sukthankar and brought to an end seventeen years of silent, successful and inspiring work over the Critical Edition of India's Great Epic which he had made his own by his brilliant critical acumen, by his wonderful modesty and the complete identification of his life with the great work of which he became the chief instrument and the guiding spirit. To those who were acquainted with him personally during this period - a period marked by preparation, organization and silent but arduous work which brought the whole scheme within measure of early completion - his loss is perhaps irreplaceable, and all the more so, since up till the last minute of his conscious life Dr. Sukthankar was hale and hearty. The cause of his sudden passing away is understood to be Thrombosis which brought on right-sided paralysis at about 1 p. m. on Thursday the 21st January 1943 and ended his earthly career that same evening in the presence of friends who least expected it. It is, however, a matter of some satisfaction to his friends that in death his expression was benign and peaceful, and that he died like a hero in harness, at the very height of his career. It would be presumptuous on any one's part to assess the incalculable loss to Indology that this event has caused, for during the past two decades Sukthankar's name stood as a synonym for all that was noble, modest, accurate and profound in scholarship, a model difficult to be emulated for all future scholars in the world, and withal inheriting a strength of character, an inexhaustible fund of optimism which breathed an inspiring message of hope to all who came to him with their difficulties, and despite the detached expression which prevented seriously anyone from taking advantage of a close contact with him, possessing an appreciative heart which could clearly discern what was valuable and discard what was trash or worthless. It was this seriousness

of expression and inward detachment which prevented all, except his few privileged friends, from cultivating personal relationship with him. Nevertheless, all those who came into touch with him, whether in their day to day work at the Institute in the Mahābhārata Department, or in their studies, either as his students or collaborators, consulted him on their difficulties, one and all came under the influence of his magnetic personality, and in spite of the awe which he inspired in them all, came to regard him with affection and love. It is particularly from this angle that his death will be mourned as a personal loss by all his friends, pupils and collaborators.

To me personally Sukthankar's death, so sudden and unexpected, has been the source of inconsolable regret and a loss the magnitude of which I am not yet in a position to evaluate. My acquaintance with him began in 1933 when I personally met him at the Institute, although I knew him by reputation while I was in England during 1928-31 when the first fascicules of the *Ādiparvan* were published. I remember very well the thrill of joy which I felt when looking through the first two fascicules in London at the School of Oriental Studies and studying the methods which Sukthankar had applied to the Critical Edition of the world's Greatest Epic. My interest in this work was further increased when during my stay in Bonn in 1930, I discussed problems of textual criticism as applied to the *Rāmāyana* which Dr. Walter Ruben had undertaken as his personal work. Ruben's general criticism of the methods used by Sukthankar in the light of the difficulties involved and Sukthankar's brilliant reply which crushed all opposition and brought renown to the exact scientific methods which he had patiently evolved in the cause of the Great Epic, absorbed me completely. It is really significant that my first personal contact with Sukthankar became a realised fact within a few months of the publication of his great *Prolegomena* to the *Ādiparvan*, which is a masterpiece of scientific work achieved within the Indian field and a landmark which will hold good as long as India's Great Epic sways the mind of her people. What was merely apparent from the several papers contributed by him towards Epic Studies became, in the *Prolegomena*, a settled fact backed by precise methods and complete mastery of epic materials. One could no longer speak of a *Poona Recen-*

nion, as a great French savant had once remarked, and those critics who, either through established reputation or through the weight of their authority, thought they could materially differ from the learned editor of the first critical volume of the Great Epic, found to their surprise and joy a perfect master of western scientific methods with the innate intuitive eastern understanding of the problems involved. Yet, when I met him with feelings of deep admiration and great awe, and showed him the little things I had done or was working out, I could at once find in him a feeling of oneness with all research work which made one bold enough to discuss with him personal difficulties and problems. More than in any other scholar that I have met, I could find in him a strong, silent understanding, and he could convey in a word or a phrase far greater thoughts and ideas than any one else. It was these unspeakable reserves of power which people have often interpreted as aloofness or lack of sociability; but I soon discovered that he was really sociable and had a great fund of humour and a keen sense of understanding masked under the serious brow and the inward contemplation.

For two years between 1934 and 1936, during my absence from Poona, I was often in touch with Sukthankar through correspondence. The acquaintance which grew between us during these two years, ripened into deep friendship when I returned to Poona in 1936, and during the past seven years I had the benefit of meeting him almost daily and discussing the several problems of research in which we were both interested. I can only write my impressions of the great savant from my actual observations and therefore I am desisting from including here an account of his earlier life which I can best gather second-hand. It was while discussing some problems of linguistics in the Indo-European field during the period when I was working on the Descriptive Catalogue of Vedānta section of the Government Collection of Mss. deposited in the Institute, that the first germ of the idea of starting a review journal in the Indic field struck me. During the first part of 1937 when I spoke about this to Sukthankar he whole-heartedly sponsored the scheme and the *Oriental Literary Digest* came into being, with the collaboration of several scholars all over the country. From the *Oriental Literary Digest* to the *New Indian Antiquary* was one more step, but here I met, for the first time, with a well-informed opposi-

tion from him which I found difficult to circumvent. He was not alone, however, in this, for several of my collaborators on the *OLD* also held similar views. But that he was not confined to narrow views is proved by his most sincere collaboration and active help which were always at my disposal even when I differed from him. When the *New Indian Antiquary* was founded in 1938 against his first advice he could very well have kept aloof; but the innate nobility which characterised him and the strong optimism which always inspired his activities left him no choice other than of helping a young concern which drew inspiration from him. And the fact that he collaborated with the Editors of *NIA* in bringing out two *Festschriften* in honour of Prof. F. W. Thomas and Prof. P. V. Kane and saw them through all stages until the final completion is a matter of great joy to those who valued his cooperation beyond that of other scholars. These were merely the outward manifestations of a greatness of spirit and an objective approach for which he was well known. There were periods of great trial in the history of our ventures when his robust optimism and inspiring words alone saved us from giving up our self-inflicted tasks, and it would be no exaggeration to say that, though he did not allow his name to be associated as an Editor with the *NIA*, he was as much interested in its career and continuance as the Editors themselves. His interest was not confined merely to the academic side; he was surprisingly well informed on several aspects of printing, and his guidance in such matters proved of inestimable worth to us. I have recorded these incidents just to show the character of the personality whose death has caused such a deep rent in our hearts.

The silent way in which he influenced the lives of fellow scholars may be illustrated ideally in the case of the Editors of the *New Indian Antiquary*. Mr. P. K. Gode, already a scholar of some repute when Dr. Sukthankar took charge of the General Editorship of the Critical Edition of the Great Epic, was inspired towards greater undertakings through his daily contact with him, and as he himself admitted at the joint meeting of the academic bodies in Poona held in February 1943 to pass a resolution of condolence, more than 200 papers were completed by him during

his 17 years' close contact with him. Similarly during my nine years' contact with him I never undertook any research activity without consulting him on the details of such work. Early in 1934, soon after he had delivered his Wilson Philological Lectures in the University of Bombay, I had requested him to bring out a practical book on Indian Textual Criticism for the benefit of scholars like myself who could not very well study the details contained in his Prolegomena. With characteristic vigour and deep insight he replied: 'You work with me for six months on the Critical Edition of the Mbh. and you will know what Textual Criticism is.' Little did I dream at that time that his cryptic remark hid underneath a fine perception of possibilities which he could direct with perfect mastery when the time came to exercise his force. It was only later, when our contact had deepened into personal friendship and regard, long after several volumes of *OLD* and *NIA* had been published, that I could sense his abiding influence. It was much against my own inclinations, and I may add, better sense, that I approached the problem of Indian textual criticism from a purely linguistic point of view, without realizing that my activities were motivated by a master-mind who remained behind, hovering imperceptibly in the background, exerting his influence as and when necessary and giving the required push to carry on those activities. It was in this manner that he apparently consulted me on some *lectio difficilior* in the critical edition and made me write a few papers on its linguistic peculiarities. What was from my own point of view a little excursus in the peculiarities of the critical edition was from his angle, an introduction to textual criticism itself. Yet, knowing my own antipathy to take up the critical work to the exclusion of linguistics which was naturally my chief field, he moved cautiously, never hinting to me either in words or by gestures, that it was his intention that I should myself qualify for the task which I had constantly placed before him. Gradually, step by step, from consultation to active collaboration on several questions, since 1937, I was led on to such a stage in 1940 that I was easily persuaded to undertake a short introduction to Indian Textual Criticism for use by our scholars here. But behind that persuasion was the unquestionable authority of the master-mind, ready to guide me with firm hand and

direct my faltering steps. My first attempts naturally did not satisfy him, for I was aiming to address the specialist while he was irrevocably bent upon my addressing the general scholar, and for a time I was hesitating on my next step. But finally his great love for the subject, his objective judgment and constant inspiration cleared every obstacle from my path and resulted in my small book on this subject in 1941. There were several other projects which he had in his mind and to which he had directed my attention, some partly completed and some newly undertaken. But before we could actually discuss the details- the discussion was to take place on the afternoon of January 21 this year according to the last note which he wrote to me on the preceding day - the cruel hand of death put a stop to all great work on the critical edition which he had made his own. Other scholars will perhaps testify to such influence on their lives either directly or indirectly through his writings, but I cannot fail to refer to these incidents which bring to light the hidden characteristics and on which I can personally speak with some authority.

What was the foundation of this unique scholarship which utilized the modern scientific methods with the precision which inspired confidence and which was the *sine que non* of real objective achievement? There have been a number of great scholars in India and abroad during the past hundred years or more, but in none of them, was this scientific background so manifest as in Sukthankar. His moderation, the measure of his sentences which actually weighed the words he selected, and his published papers which are often the last words on the subject selected, generally indicated that mathematical exactitude which was so characteristic of him. His reticence was natural, not a studied pose, and more often than not, eloquent to the last degree. Perhaps it is not so well known among his friends and admirers that Sukthankar's first love was Mathematics, like that of Bhandarkar and Tilak or of Grassman and Whitney before him. His Cambridge days were really devoted to a study of Mathematics, and although during that period Modern Analysis had not yet made headway in Cambridge, the training in rigorous methods of proof and the measured use of words which he received there, characterised his later work to a degree never sur-

passed in purely Oriental Research. I have personally never been able to find out from Sukthankar the circumstances which led him on to specialization in Sanskritic studies and divorced him from his first love for Mathematics; but I have seen him reading, as late as in 1942, G. H. Hardy's Lectures on Ramanujam and appreciating many subtleties. What may have been a loss to Mathematics was certainly a happy and singular gain to Oriental Studies in India, and Sukthankar's entry in Indology was perhaps the first sign of a new orientation in purely cultural studies where strict scientific methods evolved by the 'mother of all sciences' could be applied rigorously and logically with a precision which was hitherto unknown in that field. Even to the last he kept himself in touch, as far as that was possible, consistent with his arduous work on the Critical Edition, with modern trends in Mathematics and allied sciences.

I cannot speak of Sukthankar's early days from first-hand information. As a literary biography has been promised to us by the V. S. Sukthankar Memorial Edition Committee I shall briefly indicate here the general development of his career. He was born on the 4th of May 1887 and received his early education at the Maratha High School and St. Xavier's College, Bombay. Even during this early career he is said to have shown great promise. After completing his Intermediate Examination he left for England with a view to compete for the Indian Civil Service which was then attracting the best minds of England and India; but a far greater destiny awaited him to serve a worthier cause. He entered St. John's College, Cambridge and passed his Mathematical Tripos. Later he migrated to Edinburgh and Berlin Universities, and at Berlin studied under Prof. H. Lüders in the department of Indology. One of his fellow students at this time was the late Rev. Father Zimmermann whose long service to Sanskrit at the St. Xavier's College is still being remembered reverently by his students. Sukthankar's doctoral dissertation was connected with the Critical Edition of Śākaṭāyana's Grammar and in spite of its being his first serious work about which he himself was not quite happy, it was a model of what was yet to come from his pen. In fact he had so far forgotten the existence of this little work that it was really a matter of genuine surprise

to him when he discovered several important references to obscure usages in this volume in Louis Renou's *Grammaire Sanscrite*. It is difficult for one who was not a contemporary of these great scholars to picture the relationship which must have existed between pupil and master. One can only refer to the correspondence which passed between them at the time of the completion of the critical edition of the *Ādiparvan*, for when Sukthankar closed the *Prolegomena* with a few words of deserved praise for the Master who had initiated him into the science of textual criticism and in the Indian spirit of true reverence attributed all that was good and abiding in this edition to the greatness of his Guru, the Teacher himself wrote back in his inimitable style that he had pupils year in and year out but none had done such brilliant work, and that therefore all the merit was Sukthankar's personally and his Guru had no share in it except in the glory and joy which was the natural reward for the pupil himself. Sukthankar's style represented the Man himself, and justified the dictum that the style is the man. Perhaps in this, as in his manner of approaching problems, he was closely allied to Lüdgers.

On his return to India Sukthankar joined the Archaeological department of the Government of India in the capacity of Assistant Superintendent of the Western Circle. During this period he contributed a number of important papers to the *JAOS*, *EI*, and other standard journals; he deciphered a number of epigraphs and devoted himself to a study of the Bhāsa problems. His review of Printz's monograph on the language of Bhāsa's Prakrit is as objective as it is penetrating, and he studied the entire question from several angles with perfect mastery. His specialization in philology and linguistics included a perfect mastery of palaeography, epigraphy and archaeology and later, when he joined the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute as General Editor of the Critical Edition, this knowledge was utilized for training postgraduate students in Ancient Indian Culture. But linguistics still remained as the chief field for him for investigation until the actual organisation of the critical edition and his ultimate absorption in it prevented him from keeping abreast of the latest researches. It is characteristic of him that he was attracted chiefly to such branches of Indic studies as could exhibit possibilities of scientific methods being applied to them.

When in 1925 he was invited to undertake the responsibilities of the General Editorship of the Critical Edition by the authorities of the Bhandarkar Institute, the conditions were not very favourable. The tentative edition of the Virāṭaparvan had not progressed to that pitch of scientific achievement which could instil a sense of perfect confidence in the methods evolved or in the text so constituted. Though much spade work had been done during the four years since the inception of the editorial activities by Sir Ramkrishna in April 1919 when the tentative edition was published, and although Sukthankar himself refers to it with characteristic generosity in the *prospectus* issued by him in 1937 it was still far from the ideal which was yet to be achieved. Sukthankar had therefore to begin anew, organize the entire department, study the collations afresh and prepare slowly and surely the background which was to give the critical edition the almost coveted designation of 'definitive edition'. Few can understand the difficulties he had to face or the wonderful insight which enabled him to pick the methods and fix the principles, once for all, of editing a text the nature of which could become apparent only after a deep study. It is therefore a matter of wonder still that the first fascicule of the Ādi could be issued in 1927, just two years after he took charge of his onerous responsibilities. Let it not be thought that the principles which he finally enunciated in his immortal Prolegomena in 1933 were worked out during the eight years of his editorship which were necessary for the completion of the Ādiparvan; without the basic principles he could not have published the first fascicule itself. If this fact is taken into consideration, and if further we realize that the Parvan Editors who had the advantage of his unique experience required at least a year to get acquainted with their material and a couple more to constitute smaller texts, we shall perhaps be in a position to estimate, approximately, the loss that we have sustained by his untimely death. Even today, ten years after the Prolegomena has been before the public, there are scholars who are presumptuous enough to give an *ex cathedra* opinion about the Great Epic, without understanding the objective study which goes to make for its brilliance and abiding influence.

In addition to his work at the critical edition, Sukthankar was Editor-in-Chief of the *JBRAS* for more than 17 years, a Member of the Reorganisation Committee appointed by the Government of Bombay in 1938 in connection with the Deccan College and of its First Council of Management, a Founder Member of the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan of Bombay, a Fellow of the University of Bombay during 1928-9 and a Member of the Boards of Studies in Sanskrit, Pāli and Ardha-Māgadhī and History and Archaeology. He was actively connected with the publication of the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute as the sole referee during its first year, and his help was always available to research Institutes which sought it. In this he followed the time-honoured principle of Christ: 'Ask and it shall be given'. He could not be coerced to do a thing against his will, but he was always ready to help in any manner consistent with his own life-work on the Mbh. Since 1933 he directed his attention to as speedy a completion of the critical edition as the materials at his disposal could allow. With the assistance of two Parvan Editors he brought out the Virāṭa and Udyoga Parvans while he himself completed the Āraṇyaka; with the assistance of Prof. Edgerton he had the Sabhā edited, and before his unexpected demise he had himself seen all but the last chapters of this Parvan through the press. Thus, in his Introduction to the Āraṇyaka, he refers to the completion of the critical edition of the first six parvans of the Mbh. comprising nearly 38,000 ślokas out of an aggregate of about 82, 150 or nearly 45 per cent of the Great Epic, during 17 years of his General Editorship. In the Prospectus which he issued in 1937 he remarks: 'The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute which has devoted nineteen years of unceasing toil to the task and has spent nearly 2,00,000 Rs. on the same, is of course determined to husband all its resources and complete the undertaking: *within the next ten years, if it be possible to obtain the sineus for it; within the next fifty years if the want of adequate sympathy and response for its appeals must needs prolong the struggle to that unconscionable length,*' During the presentation of the Critical Edition of the Sabhāparvan to the Raja of Aundh on 5th January 1943, Sukthankar's speech breathed a spirit of confidence

and a welcome optimism which was refreshing and inspiring to his audience. All listened to him with rapt attention and devoutly wished that the great undertaking should be fittingly concluded at his hands within a short period, and few had an inkling to what was going to happen just seventeen days later. Sukthankar had already done over 160 chapters of the *Dronaparvan*, and it was expected that with increasing collaboration of properly qualified scholars the editing could be expedited and the necessary funds found for completing the monumental work, the greatest land-mark in the history of Indology during the present century.

One is poignantly reminded of the words with which Sukthankar concluded his Introduction to the *Āraṇyakparvan*. He remarks therein : ' If Mahārṣi Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa tells us that he has cried himself hoarse, urging people to follow the Path of Duty :

ऊर्ध्वबाहुर्विराम्येष न च कश्चिच्छृणोति माम् ।

धर्मादर्थश्च कामश्च स किमर्थं न सेव्यते ॥

his shouting with uplifted arms has *not* been entirely vain. He has *not* failed in his mission. Across the reverberating corridors of Time, we his descendants can still hear dimly his clarion call to Duty. It is in response to that call and in a spirit of reverent homage to that sage of unfathomable wisdom—that embodied Voice of the Collective Unconscious of the Indian people—we offer this work, pledged to broadcast to mankind, in this hour of its need and its peril, the luminous message of the Mahārṣi :

न जानु कामान्न भयान्न लोभा- ।

द्धर्मं त्यजेज्जीवितस्यापि हेतोः ॥

धर्मो नित्यः सुखदुःखे त्वनित्ये ।

जीवो नित्यो हेतुरस्याप्यनित्यः ॥ ”

Sukthankar's appeal in 1937 still remains unanswered; the sinews that he referred to therein are not only finances but also collaborators trained in critical editing of texts. It is a sad commentary on Indian scholarship that only three scholars were found qualified to be entrusted with this work, and it is still a greater tragedy that while Sukthankar lived there were not

many scholars who would take advantage of his mastery and learn from him the science of editing the Great Epic. 'Come and work with me for six months' has remained unanswered, and despite the facilities which he was glad to place at the disposal of really interested scholars, Vyāsa's cry became Sukthankar's. The reverberating corridors of time are functioning too late when the master has already flown away to his eternal abode. But it is hoped that the material he has left behind, the methods and principles which he has evolved in the cause of this magisterial work, and the detailed directions contained in his many-sided contributions to this science, will remain as the Bible for all future editors of the Epic.

I cannot conclude this little tribute to the memory of one with whom it was not only my privilege to be closely associated for the last seven years of my stay in Poona but also a constant source of inspiration towards greater achievement, without referring to two aspects of Sukthankar's life to which the world in general has no inkling. At heart he was greatly drawn towards the life spiritual and he craved for that direct experience which alone could set at rest the perennial hankering of the soul for final beatitude. It was in 1939-40 that I came into closest contact with him and discovered this aspect of his many-sided life. I was also instrumental, in 1940, of arranging for his visits to Shri Ramanashram, Tiruvannamalai and Shri Aurobindo Ashram at Pondicherry, on the closing of the Tenth All-India Oriental Conference at Tirupati. Sukthankar had developed at this time a new interest in spiritual life and studied and practised a great deal of the tenets of such a life. The gradual change which this new hankering after ultimate reality brought in him can be visualized by the set of lectures which he was delivering before the University of Bombay during January this year. While his interest remained the same so far as the critical editing went, he was gradually being drawn towards the inner content of that great message of Maharṣi Vyāsa which reflected, as he said, the Collective Unconscious of the Indian people and which was embodied in that corpus which has come down to us as the Great Epic of India. So from the *corpus* of the Mbh. he was passing on to the *anima*,

the content of the Mbh. which he placed before the world as the three-dimensional view of the Great Epic. Here again I had the privilege of being his first audience. As the lectures were getting ready over his typewriter I had the rare honour of being shown them first, and I was partly responsible for getting copies made of those lectures for him.

During this period he had firmly come to agree with me that we were but mere instruments in the hands of One Who was guiding the destinies of all manifestation, and that the best service we could render to ourselves, and therefore the whole Universe, was to surrender ourselves completely, consciously devoting ourselves to that set purpose. Many were the times when we referred to the puny strength of Man who considered himself the master of the Universe around him ; a little break in an artery in the brain and where was he? Was it really prophetic uttering that was borne out by the incident on the 21st January this year? Who knows? Sukthankar was a great personality during life, loveable, inspiring confidence and reverence, and at the same time preventing too close a contact ; in his death he transcended all limitations and achieved an immortality which had already been his birth-right.

Those that are left behind have a heavy responsibility to bear. We cannot find another Sukthankar to carry on his work with the same unflagging zeal and the same mastery of methods and principles. But we hope to remain true to his memory and the tradition that he has built around this Institute, and in this task we appeal to all scholars to merge their individual feelings in a common endeavour to achieve an almost impossible task facing us at this hour of trial. Money and men are needed but above all a spirit of self-surrender to the cause of Truth which is or ought to be the be-all and end-all of our existence, I feel confident that the Critical Edition will continue in the same tradition if those who are remaining behind prove true to the traditions already established by Sukthankar.

S. M. K.

TRIBUTE FROM THE WEST

Yale University

New Haven. Connecticut

Oriental Studies

March 1, 1943

To the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, India :

I have just received the news of the death of Dr. V. S. Sukthankar. It is not only a very grave personal loss to me ; I counted him one of my best friends, and had come to feel a very deep respect and even affection for him as a man.

But the loss to scholarship is immeasurable, and, naturally, far more important. I am appalled at the thought that it will now be necessary to entrust the Mahābhārata edition to others. Few persons now living are as well gifted by nature as he was with the peculiar combination of intellectual qualities needed for this work. And literally not one has had the experience which he had, and which is second in importance only to that native ability. He had arrived at a point where so many things had become almost automatic to him, like second nature ; things which even those of us who have helped in the edition cannot control as he did, though we may have painfully struggled towards an approximation of a few of them. Now, just when he could have exploited to the full this unique combination of knowledge and experience - ज्ञानं सविज्ञानम् - he is cut off in the midst of it.

I beg the Bhandarkar Institute, as representative of all of Dr. Sukthankar's Indian friends and admirers (whom I wish I could address personally), to accept this imperfect tribute as evidence of the depth and sincerity of my feeling of loss to myself and to the world. I am sure that this feeling will be shared by all Western Sanskritists.

Very sincerely yours,

Franklin Edgerton

TO DR. V. S. SUKTHANKAR

Thy Country ill could spare thee at this hour,
When thy stupendous task was but half-done.
Of scholarship thou wast the full-blown flower
That had for India world-wide praises won ;
'Twas thou her name upon the world-map placed,
And made her Epic great to scholars known,
A Wonder Book ; its hundred versions traced
Thou mastered with a learning all thine own !
Oh ! who will take the pen that Death has snatched
From thy unerring hand, thy work complete,
With zeal unflagging, like thy own, unmatched,
With learning deep and sound like thee replete.
Thy monumental work will shining stand,
Reflecting glory on the Motherland !

S. R. D.

शोकोद्गारः

सुकथङ्करवंशसागरोद्गतविद्वद्विधुरस्तमाययौ ।
इतिवृत्तमिदं हि शृण्वतां नियतं हृत्कमलं स्फुटिष्यति ॥ १
कसि सन्ति बुधा न भूतले कृतविद्या अपि गर्वदूषिताः ।
सकलात्मगुणाकरो भवान्विदितोऽभून्ननु सर्वदिक्ष्वपि ॥ २
स पराशरसूनुरेव किं स्वमहाभारतशोधनोद्भवैः ।
सहसा महसा परेण संयुयुजे त्वां सुकृतैः प्रबृंहितैः ॥ ३
करुणामितभाषितादयः क्व नु यान्त्वद्य गुणास्त्वया विना ।
विनिपात्य बुधाञ्छुगम्बुधौ किमकाण्डे व्यजहा धरामिमाम् ॥ ४

यशसा धवलीकृतेऽपि ते भुवने वस्तुनिरीक्षणोद्यमाः ।
 तिमिरैरुपरुद्धचक्षुषो निधनात्ते वयमन्धतां गताः ॥ ५
 सहसावृततारके त्वयि स्थगिताक्षाः कवयोऽश्रुनिर्झरैः ।
 न कुहूगगने यथोडवो विलसन्त्यद्य विवर्णिताननाः ॥ ६
 श्रवसोर्गर्गलोपमां ध्रुवं तव वार्तां सुकथंकर प्रभो ।
 अवगत्य विदेशपण्डिताः क्षणमेष्यन्त्युपलस्थितिं भ्रमात् ॥ ७
 सहजं किल संस्थितं पुराथ च वैद्यं निजमासतल्लजम् ।
 स्मरतो भवतोऽस्फुटन्मनः किमकाण्डे तनुरुज्झिता यतः ॥ ८
 बहुपापिसमर्दिता मही हरये वेदयितुं निजस्थितिम् ।
 प्रजिघाय भवन्तमेव किं करुणाब्धे बत वैष्णवं पदम् ॥ ९
 तारितुं किल भारताम्बुधिं तरणिं त्वामुपलभ्य निर्भयान् ।
 विनिमज्ज्य हि कालवात्यया कथमेवं शकलीकृतोऽसि नः ॥ १०
 चरमं किल पर्व भारते न विलम्बं सहते स्म किं तव ।
 अभिधाविषयीचिकीर्षुणा मुषितस्त्वं किमु तेन सत्वरम् ॥ ११
 कठिनैरापि कर्मभिर्यथा हृदये जातु भवेन्न जामिता ।
 समदर्शि तथा त्वया हि नो विषयेऽव्याजघृणा क्षमावता ॥ १२
 विहता सुरमारती ध्रुवं ननु विद्वद्भर ते वियोगतः ।
 न पुनर्जननं हि भावि तेऽतुलपुण्यैरपवर्गमेयुषः ॥ १३
 विषया बहवोऽटितास्त्वया विषयाश्चापि नयेष्ववेक्षिताः ।
 अथ निर्विषयोऽप्यभूः कथं चिरमित्येव हि विस्मयोऽद्य नः ॥ १४
 कृतिनं मनुतां स्वमन्तको वपुषा तेऽपहृतेन केवलम् ।
 भुवनप्रथितं हि ते यशो न हि माण्डुं चतुराननोऽप्यलम् ॥ १५

PROF. DR. HAR DUTT SHARMA, M.A., Ph.D.

The sad and untimely death of Prof. Dr. Har Dutt Sharma at Delhi on the 11th of September 1942 has removed from the field of Indology one of its ardent and enthusiastic researchers. Dr. Sharma was hardly forty-three at the time of his premature death. In his career as a research-worker extending over twenty years, he edited about fifteen books and wrote nearly twenty-five valuable papers embracing many branches of Sanskrit scholarship. But his most prominent achievement was the founding of the now well-established Journal the *Poona Orientalist*, with the co-operation of the late Dr. N. G. Sardesai of the Oriental Book Agency, Poona. He also prepared the Descriptive Catalogue of the *Vaidyaka, Tantra, and Dharmaśāstra* Manuscripts in the Government Mss. Library at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. He was planning to write a comprehensive book on the Sanskrit Anthologies; but unfortunately it was not to be!

As a student Dr. Sharma had a brilliant career. He was a Gold Medalist graduate of the Allahabad University (1920); he took the M. A. degree, with rare distinction, of the Benares Hindu University in 1922. Under the able guidance of that renowned Orientalist, Dr. M. Winternitz, he prepared the thesis: *Some Problems Connected with Brahmanical Asceticism* for which he was awarded the degree of Ph. D. of the University of Prague in 1930. He began his career as a Professor of Sanskrit at the Ramjas College, Delhi (1922-1926). Then in 1926, he joined the S. D. College, Cownpore, in the same capacity. Thereafter, he was a Sanskrit Tutor (1932-36) in the Retreat School established by Mrs. Ambalal Sarabhai. Next he came to Poona and worked for some time as an Honorary Prof. of Sanskrit in the S. P. College. Finally he went to Delhi once more and took up the appointment of the Senior Professor of Sanskrit at the Hindu College, and of the Reader in Sanskrit at the University of Delhi.

When one takes into consideration these vicissitudes in the life of Dr. Sharma, one is astonished at the amount of research

work of high merit turned out by him. Once he took up a work, he knew no respite until it was successfully completed. He worked with a rare singleness of purpose and indefatigable energy, even to the neglect of his health. His devotion to duty did not blind him, however, to the values of human life. He possessed a genial personality. Wherever he went he made numerous friends on account of his cheerful outlook on life, an ever-present smile, ready wit and a buoyant sense of humour. He had great command over Sanskrit, in which he lectured with grace and ease as though it were his mother-tongue. Besides, he had great liking for music and those who had the privilege of hearing him sing the *Aṣṭapadis* of Jayadeva at the delegates' lodge of the Hyderabad Session of the Oriental Conference will certainly miss him very much at its next Session. Though Dr. Sharma has shed the mortal coil, his memory will be ever green in the hearts of his numerous friends all over the country.

N. A. Gore

MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA VĀSUDEVAŚĀSTRĪ ABHYANKAR

The death of Mahāmahopādhyāya Vāsudeva Śāstrī Abhyankar, on the 14th Oct. 1942, brings to an end the distinguished line of teacher and pupil descending from the famous Nilakanṭha Śāstrī Thatte of the Peshwa days, who brought Sanskrit learning from its distant seat at Benares to this capital of Mahārāṣṭra. The study of grammar was the *forte* of these stalwarts and their profound knowledge of this branch gave them an easy mastery over other branches of Sanskrit learning like Nyāya, Mīmāṃsā, Vedānta, since grammar is the very foundation of Sanskrit learning. The late Vāsudeva Śāstrī was the last of these stalwarts and the most distinguished both on account of his position as Professors' Professor in the Fergusson College, and on account of the very extensive record of his erudition evidenced in numerous works that he wrote and edited during a fruitful period of 50 years of his life in Poona (1892 to 1942).

Vāsudeva Śāstri hailed from Satara where he studied under Rāmaśāstri Godbole, a distinguished pupil of Bhāskaraśāstri Abhyankar, the grand-father of Vāsudevaśāstri. Bhāskaraśāstri (1785-1872) founded a Sanskrit Pāthāśālā at Satara, wrote a commentary on the difficult grammatical work "Śekhara" and was honoured by the public with the title "Vidvanmukūṭa-ratna", for his profound erudition. He was first among the pupils of the famous Nilakaṇṭhaśāstri Thatte, the "Pāṇini" of Poona; and Vāsudevaśāstri who was fourth in this line of teacher and pupil may be fittingly honoured with the title of the "Patañjali" of Mahārāṣṭra, not only because the study of grammar received a vigorous impetus through *his* pupils who were in charge of the numerous Pāthāśālās in Mahārāṣṭra, but also because he undertook and completed in his old age the stupendous task of translating the Mahābhāṣya in Marathi and dedicated it to the people of Mahārāṣṭra through the D. E. Society on the occasion of the celebration of his 76th birth day.

Vāsudevaśāstri lost his father when he was just a year old, and his grand-father when he was seven. So his guru Rāmaśāstri Godbole undertook the task of looking to the education of Vāsudevaśāstri, a task he performed with such thorough zeal and devotion that the late Mahāmahopādhyāya could ill conceal the tears of gratitude in his eyes, whenever he had occasion to refer to his guru. He imparted all his deep learning to this more than a pupil and sent him to Poona with his blessings in the year 1891 where through the good offices of the late Justice Ranade, he was introduced to the management of the Fergusson College and was appointed a Śāstri at the College to strengthen the department of Sanskrit which was severely crippled through the loss in 1892 of Principal Vaman Shivaram Apte. His association with the College for over fifty years shed lustre over the College as a seat of Sanskrit learning. He was truly the Professors' Professor and used to explain all their difficulties in the various Śāstras. He bore his profound erudition with such grace, dignity and humility, that it never repelled his pupils but attracted them more and more to him.

In recognition of his service to the cause of learning, he was honoured with the title of "Mahāmahopādhyāya" by the

Imperial Government in the year 1921. His numerous admirers and pupils from all parts of Mahārāṣṭra celebrated his 76th birth-day in a manner worthy of so great an occasion; the then Prime-minister of the Bombay Presidency presided over the celebrations; he announced the publication of the 1st Volume of the translation in Marathi of the Pātañjala-mahābhāṣya, a work which the Mahāmahopādhyāya presented to the Fergusson College as a token of his loving regard for that Institution. Two volumes out of the projected five have already seen the light of day, and the remaining three together with the learned introduction will soon be published. It was the hope of the promoters of the project that the whole work would be printed and published during its author's life-time; but that was not to be! and to the eternal regret of all lovers of Sanskrit, a light passed away from the world, leaving it to grope its way through the fog and darkness of ignorance.

The late Mahāmahopādhyāya's connection with the Bhandarkar Institute dates from the very foundation of the Institute; he was elected honorary member of the Institute, and was also for over two decades a member of its Regulating Council. He edited numerous texts for the Bombay Sanskrit Series, and also wrote many original works and commentaries. Sanskrit learning has sustained a heavy blow by his death, which creates a gap among the ranks of Sanskritists which it would be very difficult to fill in the near future. May his soul rest in peace!

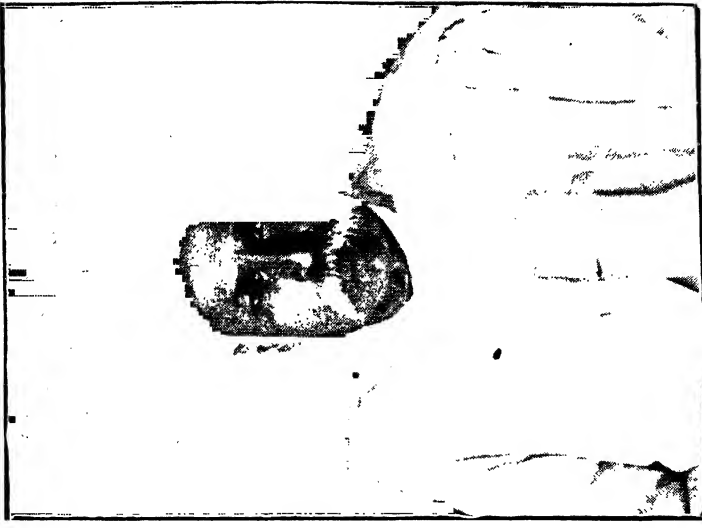
C. R. Devadhar

DR. NARAHAR GOPAL SARDESAI, L. M. & S.

17th August 1873

22nd January 1943

There is no Orientalist in India or outside who has not heard of the name of Dr. N. G. Sardesai, the famous founder of the Oriental Book Agency of Poona. In view of his lasting services to Sanskrit learning for the last quarter of a century by the publication of no less than 82 volumes of his *Poona Oriental Series* and the *Poona Orientalist* now running its 7th Volume. Dr. Sardesai's sad demise on 22nd January 1943 will be deeply mourned by all lovers of Sanskrit learning.



Dr. N. G. Sardesai



**Mahamahopadhyaya
Vasudevshastri
Abhyankar**

Dr. Sardesai was born at Sākhrī in Kolhapur State on 17th August 1873. He received his early education at Pandharpur and later in the New English School of Poona from which he passed his Matriculation Examination in 1892. In 1893 he joined the Grant Medical College Bombay, but had to leave the medical course for a couple of years for want of funds. Finally he passed his L. M. & S. examination in 1902 and served as Medical Officer at Pandharpur during the Plague Epidemic of 1901-1902. From 1903 to 1907 he worked as a private medical practitioner at Yeotmal in Berar and between 1908 and 1910 he served as Assistant-Surgeon at Penang (Straits Settlements). He was Chief Medical Officer at Ichalkaranji between 1911-1912. The writer of this note first made the acquaintance of Dr. Sardesai at this time through a common friend the late Mr. Vinayak Gopal Joshi. This acquaintance deepened into friendship which lasted from 1913 upto 1943, a period of 30 years during which Dr. Sardesai settled and worked in Poona as a medical practitioner and as the Proprietor of his Oriental Book Agency.

The interest of Dr. Sardesai in Sanskrit learning may be traced to the religious bent of his father's mind as also that of his aunt Mrs. Radhabai Padhye who belonged to the family of Kāśīnāthabhaṭṭa Pādhye the author of the celebrated *Dharma-sindhu*. This interest was further developed by the contact of Sanskrit scholars like Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Dr. P. D. Gune and Prof. R. D. Ranade, who took active part in founding the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute between 1915 and 1917. He worked whole-heartedly with these scholars in the early years of the history of the Institute, being its first Treasurer between 1915 to 1921 and member of its Regulating Council for different periods. He became the Vice-Patron of the Institute at its very inception and had helped the activities of the Institute in its infancy by advancing a loan of Rs. 15000 at a low rate of interest. He was a friend of scholars and met their scholarly needs by publishing their works, which were not likely to bring him any immediate profit. To invest capital in such publication activity continuously was almost a game of patience for Dr. Sardesai in spite of his enterprise, indefatigable industry, cautiousness and other qualities which made him a successful business man even in a line which was shunned by ordinary publishers on account of its financial risks.

Dr. Sardesai had special interest in the Āyurveda, Heredity and Eugenics, besides his interest in Sanskrit learning generally. He is the author of some papers on the subjects of his interest. Recently he published an edition of the *Amarakoṣa* with the commentary of Kṣīrasvāmin jointly with his friends Mr. G. D. Padhye and Dr. H. D. Sharma, who unfortunately died on 11th September 1942 but who had helped Dr. Sardesai in many of his publications during the last 10 years. Dr. Sardesai had a great love for travel. In 1911 he travelled to Java and Sumatra with the Chiefsahab of Ichalkaranji and brought with him copies of the Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. In 1927 he made a trip to Mount Kailāsa and the Mānasa Lake. This trip was the result of his reading of Dr. Sven Hedin's *Trans Himalayas*. Dr. Sardesai had nothing but admiration for all genuine scholarly work. The writer of this note still remembers how in 1940 he approached him and Dr. S. M. Katre for organizing a commemoration Volume in honour of Mm. Prof. P. V. Kane and how quickly he purchased the necessary paper for this volume inspite of the heavy cost of paper and printing involved in this project. The Editors lost no time in meeting Dr. Sardesai's wishes and brought out a volume worthy of the great scholar in May 1941.

It is a matter for satisfaction to note that Dr. Sardesai leaves behind him capable sons, the elder one Dr. R. N. Sardesai L.C.P.S. is now looking after his father's Oriental Book Agency. He obtained the Alexander von Humboldt scholarship for medical studies in Germany between 1936 and 1938 and has profited by his stay in Germany, a country which has specialized in Oriental publications. The younger son Mr. V. N. Sardesai, M.A., I.C.S., Bar-at-Law, is now District Judge at Dhulia. He passed the I. C. S. examination in 1928 and the M. A. examination of the University of London in 1929. Oriental scholars may confidently hope that these worthy sons of a worthy father would not only maintain their interest in Oriental publications in the manner of their father but would develop it in new channels to suit the growing interests of Indology in this country and outside.

Mrs. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS

It is with a profound sense of grief that we record the demise of Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, President of the Pali Text Society, who passed away on the 26th June 1942. Since the death of her husband, Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids, on 27th Dec. 1922, she had ably filled in the post. She was a pupil of Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids, whom she married in 1894. Since her marriage, she abundantly helped her husband in his scholarly pursuits. To her philosophical temperament, Buddhist Abhidhamma covering the studies of psychology and ethical philosophy appealed most. For the Pali Text Society, she has edited Vibhaṅga, Yamaka, Paṭṭhāna with Commentary and Visuddhimagga. She has also made available to us several books in English translation in her "Psalms of the Early Buddhists" (transl. of Thera- and Therīgāthā), "The Book of Kindred Sayings" (transl. of the Saṃyuttanikāya, vols. I & II), "Buddhist Psychology" (transl. of Dhammasaṅgaṇi), "Minor Anthologies" (transl. of Dhammapada and Khuddakapāṭha); and also in collaboration with other scholars, "Compendium of Philosophy" (transl. of Abhidhammatṭhasaṅgaha) and "Points of Controversy" (transl. of Kathāvatthu). We also owe to her Index of Saṃyuttanikāya as well as of Majjhima-nikāya. Her manuals like "Buddhism," "Buddhist Psychology", "A Manual of Buddhism for Advanced Students" are well-known to all students of Buddhist philosophy and religion. The last-mentioned book along with her "Sakya, or Buddhist Origins" reveal a change that had come over her, during the last few years, in her attitude to the Buddhist teaching as revealed in the Pali texts. In one of her numerous contributions to scholarly journals, she even goes to the length of complaining that her changed point-of-view is not yet sufficiently appreciated by scholars or workers in that field.

She was connected with the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, since 1931, when she was elected an Honorary Member of the Institute. In her latest contribution to the Silver Jubilee Volume, she gives expression (pp. 80-83) to her sore disappointment.

ment and depression that had come over her. Her heart seemed to have been broken at the depleted resources of the Pali Text Society, and at the still more ghastly incident of all the reserve stocks of the Pali Text Society being burnt up by a terrible misaimed German bomb. She, also, seemed to be conscious of her approaching death when she says in the above-mentioned article (p. 83) "It is not likely I shall be here to write FINIS to our work." She also expresses the agony she felt at just missing the completion of the task of the Pali Text Society by a few volumes (6 or 8) and for leaving the work of Pali Concordance half-finished.

There is no doubt that we have lost a great scholar-champion of early Buddhism in Europe. There is however a hope that her successor, Miss. I. B. Horner, M.A., will soon be able to fill in the gap.

P. V. Bapat

IN MEMORIAM

The undersigned recently read, with a sense of grave personal loss, the very sad news of the unexpected and premature demise, in New York, of his *Guru*, Professor Dr. Heinrich Zimmer. Prof. Zimmer was one of the most distinguished pupils of Prof. Lüders. He worked as Extraordinary Professor of Indology in the University of Heidelberg till 1939, in which year, owing to unfavourable political conditions, he had to run away from his Fatherland. He first went to Oxford where, for a short time, he worked as a Guest-Professor. Then he proceeded to the United States of America and was appointed a visiting Professor of Indic Studies in the Columbia University. He continued to work in that capacity till the time of his sad death.

Like his father (Prof. Zimmer, the author of that monumental work, "*Altindisches Leben*"), Professor Zimmer had made a deep study of Sanskrit literature and Indian Philosophy. He possessed quite a remarkable insight into things Indian. Even a casual talk with him would make this trait of his scholar-

ship sufficiently clear. Through his learned translations of difficult Sanskrit texts and, more particularly, through his original work in the field of iconography and Indian Mythology, Professor Zimmer has made his mark in the world of scholars. Prominent among his many outstanding contributions to Indological Studies are "MĀYĀ, der indische Mythos", "Ewiges Indien", "Anbetung mir" and "Spiel um Elephanten".

In Professor Zimmer, death has snatched away a leading member of the Faculty of Indology in Germany.

R. N. D.



While we go to press we have to perform the sad duty of recording the great loss which Indology in the West has recently suffered through the demise of another eminent Sanskritist in Europe. Professor E. H. Johnston, who succeeded Prof. F. W. Thomas as Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford in 1937, died in October 1942. His contributions to Sanskrit Studies include "Early Sāṃkhya", and the English translations of Aśvaghosa's "Buddhacarita", and "Saundarananda". His learned reviews of Indological works, which often appeared in the pages of the J. R. A. S., were always indicative of his precise scholarship.

--Ed.

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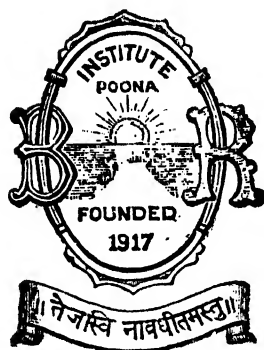
[PARTS III-IV

**Annals of the
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1943**

EDITED BY

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R. N. DANDEKAR, M.A., Ph.D.



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[PARTS III-IV

WAS THERE A RĀṢṬRAKŪṬA EMPIRE IN THE
6th CENTURY A. D. ?

BY

A. S. Altekar

(Benares Hindu University)

The history of the Deccan during the first half of the 6th century A. D. is still rather obscure. It is well known that the Cālukyas founded their empire sometime in c. 560 A. D. But who was ruling before them over the greater part of the Deccan is not yet quite clear. It has been recently argued that there was an Early Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire extending over the whole of the Deccan from c. 475 to c. 610 A. D.¹ It was this Empire which the Cālukyas acquired by conquest in the reigns of Jayasimha and Pulakeśin II.

Let us carefully consider the case that has been advanced in support of the existence of this Early Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire. The following are the main arguments:-

1 The Kauthem plates of Vikramādiya state that the early

¹ Dr. M. H. Krishna in *M. A. S. R.* for 1929 pp. 197 ff and K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar *Commemoration, Volume*, pp. 55-63.

Cālukya ruler Jayasīṃha established the Cālukya sovereignty by defeating the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra, the son of Kṛṣṇa, who had a mighty force of 800 elephants.¹ It is therefore clear that there was a Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom before c. 550 A. D.

2 This *prima facie* conclusion is confirmed by epigraphical evidence. The Uṇḍivāṭikā plates of Abhimanyu² show that he was a Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler, son of Bhaviṣya, grandson of Deva-rāja and great grandson of Mānāṅka. King Abhimanyu was ruling over northern C. P. and Malva, but his grand-father and great grand-father were ruling in Chattisgarh Division of C. P. as shown by their different charters.³ It is therefore clear that Mānāṅka of the 'Śarabhapura' dynasty was the founder of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire which originally embraced the eastern parts of C. P. The Pāṇḍuraṅgapallī plates however show that Mānāṅka extended his patrimony considerably, for he is there described as the conqueror of Āṅga, Aśmaka and Vidarbha, i. e. Bihar, Berar and north-eastern Mahārāṣṭra. Devarāja, the successor of Mānāṅka, had three sons, Jayarāja, Bhaviṣya and Avidheya; the existence of the last one has been recently disclosed by the Pāṇḍuraṅgapallī plates. During the time of these sons, who flourished in the 1st quarter of the 6th century, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire was divided into three parts, each ruled over by one of the brothers: Jayarāja was ruling in Chattisgarh, Bhaviṣya in western C. P. and Avidheya in southern Mahārāṣṭra.

3 Of the next generation, we know only Abhimanyu of the western C. P. branch. We may however presume that the three Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdoms continued to flourish as a kind of Rāṣṭrakūṭa confederation giving rise to the terminology of the three Mahārāṣṭras that we meet with in the Aihole inscription.

4 The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra, son of Kṛṣṇa, who was defeated by the Cālukya ruler Jayasīṃha in c. 530 A.D. was most probably a grandson of king Avidheya of the Pāṇḍuraṅgapallī plates.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 151 ff.

² *E. I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 63.

³ Khariar plates of Mahāsudeva, *E. I.*, Vol. IX, p. 170; Raipur Plates of Sudevarāja, Fleet, *Gupta inscriptions*, p. 196; Pāṇḍuraṅgapallī plates of Avidheya, *M. A. S. R.*, 1929 p. 197.

5 Though defeated by Jayasimha, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of southern Mahārāṣṭra continued to rule in a feudatory capacity. Their representative at the beginning of the 6th century A. D. was Govinda, who took advantage of the chaos created by the war between Maṅgalīśa and his nephew Pulakeśin II by attacking the latter from the north of the Bhīmarathī where his patrimony lay. He was however won over by Pulakeśin and induced to become his feudatory. Thus ended the Early Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire.

Let us now examine the above arguments and find out whether they can prove the existence of an Early Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire.

As regards the first argument, it is no doubt true that a number of documents of the Later Cālukyas state that Jayasimha of the early Cālukya House established his kingdom by defeating the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra, the son of Kṛṣṇa. But we should remember in this connection that this statement occurs for the first time in the documents of the Later Cālukya dynasty composed more than five centuries after the alleged event. If there was a mighty Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire which Jayasimha had smashed by the prowess of his arms, why should the documents of the early Cālukyas be silent about this most glorious achievement of the founder of the dynasty? Inscriptions of Kīrtivarman I and Maṅgalīśa which mention the name of Jayasimha do not mention this achievement of his. Even Ravikīrti, the author of the Aihole *praśasti*, who minutely describes the achievements of all the predecessors of his patron, mentioning the names of even the petty rulers defeated by them, has not a word to say about the sensational overthrow of the early Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire by the founder of the house of his patron. If this overthrow was a historic fact, there is no doubt that Ravikīrti would have grown eloquent over it; he would never have suppressed it. The silence of the Aihole inscription about the defeat of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra, the son of Kṛṣṇa, is in our opinion the most conclusive proof that it is a mere myth, invented by the later Cālukyas.

It may be observed in this connection that the history of the early Cālukyas, as narrated by the Kautham and other plates of the later Cālukyas, which describe the alleged overthrow of the

early Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire by Jayasimha, is far from reliable. For instance, these plates gravely inform us that Maṅgalīśa, the uncle of Pulakeśin II, voluntarily handed over the administration to his nephew, when he came of age; for, 'can a scion of the Cālukya family ever swerve from the path of duty?'¹ The Aihole *praśasti*, which is a contemporary document, shows clearly that this is a pious lie, invented by the later court panegyrist in order to whitewash the character of Maṅgalīśa. The overthrow of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa by early Cālukyas belongs to the same category; the Cālukyas could not conceal the fact that they had been once overthrown by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in c. 750 A. D.; the court poets of the Later Cālukyas wanted to make it appear that a similar fate had overcome the Rāṣṭrakūṭas also not only in 973 A. D., but also on an earlier occasion, when the early Cālukya empire was established by Jayasimha.

It may be further pointed out that if the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire of Indra, the son of Kṛṣṇa, embraced the whole of the Deccan and was annexed by Jayasimha, there would have been no necessity of effecting any further conquests by the successors of Jayasimha. From the Aihole *praśasti*, we however learn that Kirtivarman had to conquer the Nalas of Bastar, the Mauryas of Konkan, the Kadambas of Karnataka, and that his successor Maṅgalīśa had to defeat and annex the kingdom of the Kalacūris in northern C. P. and Malva. It is however claimed that the early Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire embraced most of the Deccan. How then did the necessity arise of conquering the Bastar state, western C. P. Malva and Konkan? Did the successors of Jayasimha permit new kingdoms to arise in these parts of the Deccan? This will be extremely improbable. The Aihole inscription, which glorifies the achievements of every ancestor of Pulakeśin, has to say nothing of any specific achievement of Jayasimha. It is doubtful if he enjoyed even the status of a feudatory; it is therefore quite inconceivable that he would ever have overthrown any mighty empire.

Let us now turn to the 2nd argument and try to find out

¹ cf. तस्मिन्प्रत्यर्पयद्य महीं गूनि सत्याश्रयेऽसौ

चालुक्यानां क इव हि पयो धर्मतः प्रच्यवेत् ॥ *Ind. Ant.* VIII, 13.

whether the epigraphs mentioned in it prove the existence of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire embracing the whole of the Deccan. It is likely that king Avidheya of the Pāṇḍuraṅgapallī plates and Abhimanyu of the Uṇḍivāṭikā were the descendants of Mānāṅka and his son Devarāja, though there is no conclusive proof for this assumption. We have several copper plates of these rulers, and is it not strange that only in one of them, the Uṇḍivāṭikā plates of Abhimanyu, they should have been described as Rāṣṭrakūṭas? Mānāṅka, Devarāja and Jayarāja, who ruled in Chattisgarh, have issued 5 charters; in none of them are they described as Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The Southern Mahārāṣṭra branch is known from a single charter, — the Pāṇḍuraṅgapallī plates, and that too does not describe the rulers as Rāṣṭrakūṭas. It is only in the Uṇḍivāṭikā plates that Abhimanyu describes himself as a Rāṣṭrakūṭa. If out of the three dynasties of the so-called Rāṣṭrakūṭa confederacy, two never described themselves as Rāṣṭrakūṭas, how could the empire have been known as a Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire?

But even if we suppose that the members of all the three branches were known as Rāṣṭrakūṭas, it does not follow that there was a big Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire embracing the whole of the Deccan in the 6th century. The Chhattisgarh branch came to an end with Sudevarāja; soon after his death, the Somavamśī kings established their sovereignty over the province. There is nothing to show that Abhimanyu of western C. P. and Avidheya of southern Mahārāṣṭra were members of any confederacy; for aught we know, they were local rulers, ruling over small states. Even if we suppose that their kingdoms included the whole of Mahārāṣṭra, there is nothing to show that their descendants continued to rule over this big territory. There is definite evidence to show that Malva and northern Mahārāṣṭra passed under the Kālacūris in the latter half of the 6th century A. D. Maṅgalīśa had to defeat them in order to establish his sovereignty over that region. The Mauryas and the Kadambas were in power in southern Konkan and Mahārāṣṭra and Karnatak when the Cālukyas came on the scene, as is clearly proved by the Aihole *prasthiti*. If there were any Rāṣṭrakūṭa families by the middle of the 6th century A. D., they must have

been petty local rulers and not the members of any big federation, exercising sway from Chattisgarh to Konkan and Malva to Karnatak.

As regards the 3rd argument, we have already pointed out why we cannot accept the statements of the later Cālukya plates that Jayasimha had defeated a Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra, son, of Kṛṣṇa. The theory that this Indra was a son of king Avidheya of Pāṇḍurāṅgapallī plates is based on conjecture and has no shred of substantial evidence in its support. The chronological scheme accepted by Dr. Krishna himself goes against this suggestion. He places Avidheya, the grand-father of Indra in c. 530 A.D. His grandson Indra therefore must be placed in c. 570 A.D. His contemporary in the Cālukya dynasty would be Kirtivarman I and not his great grand-father Jayasimha. How then is it possible to assume that Jayasimha defeated Kṛṣṇa, who flourished three generations later?

The 5th argument that the continuance of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power down to c. 610 A. D. is proved by the Aihole inscription is also weak. This inscription no doubt states that Pulakeśin II won over a king named Govinda, who attacked him from the north of Bhīmarathi, but it does not state that he was a Rāṣṭrakūṭa. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar had no doubt advanced the view that he was a Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler, and identified him with Govinda, the great grand-father of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Kṛṣṇa I. This theory is however untenable in view of the serious chronological difficulty it has to overcome. Since Govinda, the opponent of Pulakeśin II flourished from c. 610 to 630 A. D.; his great grandson could have flourished from c. 670 to c. 690 and not from c. 760 to 775, which, we know, was the time of Kṛṣṇa I. It is further to be noted that the Aihole inscription does not at all describe Govinda, the opponent of Pulakeśin II, as a Rāṣṭrakūṭa.

A careful examination of the different arguments advanced in support of the theory of the existence of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire in the 6th century A. D. thus shows that it is altogether untenable. Most of the kings, who are said to have belonged to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa confederation, do not describe themselves as Rāṣṭrakūṭas. They were not rulers over the whole of the

Deccan; the Nāḷas, the Mauryas, the Kāḷacūris and the Kadambas were ruling over the major part of Mahārāṣṭra by c. 550 A. D. and not Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Later Cālukya records no doubt assert that Jayasimha, the founder of the early Cālukya dynasty, had defeated a Rāṣṭrakūṭa king named Indra, son of Kṛṣṇa. But their statement is unreliable, as it is inconceivable that Ravikīrti in his Aihole *praśasti* would have silently passed over the most glorious achievement of the founder of the house of his patron. The early Cālukyas founded their kingdom by overthrowing the Nāḷas, the Mauryas, the Kāḷacūris and the Kadambas and not the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

SĀBĀJĪ PRATĀPARĀJA, A PROTÉGÉ OF
BURHĀN NIZĀM SHAH OF AHMADNAGAR,
AND HIS WORKS — BETWEEN A. D. 1500 AND 1560
BY
P. K. GODE

In June 1941 my friend the late Dr. H. D. Sharma visited Poona and during his stay of a month or so he carried out a complete analysis of a work on *dharmaśāstra* called the *Paraśurāmapratāpa* at my instance. The results of his elaborate analysis of this compendium represented by some Mss at the B. O. R. Institute have been already published in the *Poona Orientalist*.¹ Though Dr. Sharma saw through the proofs of this paper he has not lived to see it in a published form! I had promised Dr. Sharma a paper on the author of this work but unfortunately I could not draft it earlier owing to other preoccupations.

The author of the *Paraśurāmapratāpa* (= *P*) is Sābājī Pratāparāja (= *SP*). Aufrecht makes the following entries regarding this author and his works:—

CCI, 327—"परशुराम प्रताप dh. by Sāmbājīpratāparāja. B. 3., 102.

Burnell 131^a. Poona 157, 158, 560, II, 233-245.

Quoted by Kamalākara Oxf. 278^b Comm. आह-
काण्डदीपिका by Vopadeva, Poona II, 246. "

See *CCI*, 711 (साम्बाजी प्रतापराज).

¹ Vide pp. 1-26 of *PO*, VII (April and July 1942) Dr. Sharma makes the following remarks about this work:—

"*Paraśurāmapratāpa* is a huge work of an encyclopaedic nature. No other library possesses a complete Ms of this work, except the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, Library. But even the Institute Mss of this work have a large number of folia missing. The work is on the general topics of *Dharmaśāstra* and contains 16 Sections or Kāṇḍas. It has been split up into 17 different codices in the Institute library. Burnell's Catalogue of Tanjore library (p. 131a) records only 5 Mss of 5 Sections. In the Baroda Oriental Institute there is only one Ms (No. 5887) of one Section (राजवल्लभकाण्ड). The stupendous nature of the work can be judged by the total number of leaves which is 2445."

Mm. Prof. P. V. Kane¹ makes the following remarks about the works of *SP* :—

P. 755—“साम्बाजी or साबाजी प्रतापराज, son of पण्डित पद्मनाभ of जामदग्न्यवत्सगोत्र. He was a protege of निजामसाह ; a. of परशुरामप्रताप and भार्गवार्चनदीपिका (vide Ms No. 5887 Baroda O. I. for राजवल्लभकाण्ड of the परशुरामप्रताप and दानकाण्डपर्व is a part of it).”

P. 578—“परशुरामप्रताप by साबाजी or साम्बाजी प्रतापराज, son of पण्डित पद्मनाभ of जामदग्न्यवत्सगोत्र and pupil of भट्ट कूर्म and a protege of निजामसाह. Seems to have contained at least आह्निक, जातिविवेक, दान, प्रायश्चित्त, संस्कार, राजनीति and आर्य. Vide Viśrāmbāg Collection (in Deccan College) II, No. 243-246 and Burnell's Tanjore Cata. p. 131^a. A huge work. Baroda O. I. 5887 is राजवल्लभकाण्ड which is like मानसोल्लास in subject matter. C. आर्यकाण्डदीपिका or आर्यदीपकलिका of बोपदेव-पण्डित. Quotes हेमाद्रि, कालादर्श.”

P. 598—“भार्गवार्चनदीपिका by साबाजी (or - म्बा) alias प्रतापराज Ulwar Cata. extract 648.”

Aufrecht makes the following entries regarding भार्गवार्चन-दीपिका :—

CCI, 407—“भार्गवार्चनदीपिका quoted in द्रव्यशुद्धिदीपिका Oxf. 274^a, in निर्णयसिन्धु and शान्तिसार.”

As Kamalākara, the author of निर्णयसिन्धु (A. D. 1612) quotes Sābāji's परशुरामप्रताप and भार्गवार्चनदीपिका we must infer that *SP* is earlier than A. D. 1612. The Mss of दानकाण्ड and संस्कारकाण्ड of *P* noted by Burnell (131^a) belong to “about 1650”. The author of the द्रव्यशुद्धिदीपिका, which quotes *SP*'s भार्गवार्चनदीपिका, was born in A. D. 1668 according to Prof. P. V. Kane (*HD*, I, 566). The शान्तिसार, which quotes भा. दीपिका, is possibly of दिनकरभट्ट (*HD*, I, 636) who is assigned by Kane “between 1575-1640.” All these chronological references indicate that *SP* is definitely earlier than A. D. 1600.

¹ *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, 1930.

² [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

SP appears to have composed a poem called the “भृगुवंशमहाकाव्य”, a Ms¹ of which is dated *Samvat* 1667 (A. D. 1611). This date is very important as it confirms the conclusion regarding *SP*'s date arrived at by me to the effect that *SP* is earlier than A. D. 1600.

Let us now consider the evidence furnished by the works of Sābaji² about his Muslim patron. This evidence is as follows :—

(1) Sābaji refers to निजामशाहनगरी as follows on folio 2^a of *Ms No. 233 of Vis II*—

“ भूचक्रस्य निजामशाहनगरी कमैकदोग्ध्री नृणाम् ॥ १४ ॥ ”

“ श्रीमद्राजनिजामशाहनगरी संलक्षि(क्ष्य)ते भूमिपैः ॥ १५ ॥ ”

“ याहंमदेति पुरवासिभिरुद्धतासौ संकीर्तिता वरगुणैरभिनयं काले
॥ १८ ॥ ”

Both अहमदपुर and निजामशाहनगरी refer to the same capital of Sābaji's patron viz. *Ahmadnagar* which was founded by Ahmad Nizam Shah between A. D. 1490 and 1508.

(2) Sābaji refers to his relation to his patron निजामशाह as follows :— (folio 2^a of *Ms No. 233 of Vis II*)

¹ Vide p. 71 of H. P. Sastri's *Des. Cata. of History and Geography Mss in the R. A. S. B., Calcutta*, 1923 (Vol. IV)—*Ms No. 3101* Post colophon endorsement :—“ परशुरामार्पणमस्तु संवत् १६६७ वर्षे पौष शुद्धि १ ले बुधे लिखितमिदं पुस्तकं. ” S. R. Bhandarkar notes a Ms of परशुरामप्रताप dated *Samvat* 1556 [Vide p. 35 of his *Report for 1904-1906 (Rajputana and Central India)*] This date of Ms, if correct, comes to A. D. 1500. I am unable to verify it as no details of it are recorded in the *Report*. If the year belongs to the Śaka era, the date would be A. D. 1578, which would be in harmony with the evidence regarding the chronology of Sābaji Pratāparāja recorded in this paper. It is difficult to reconcile the date A. D. 1500 for a Ms of परशुरामप्रताप with its date of composition which seems to lie between c. A. D. 1509 and 1553 the period of the reign of Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar.

² One साबाजी अनंत चतुर is often mentioned in the Marathā Chronicles. I am unable to penetrate the mist of gossip about this personage who is supposed by some writers to belong to *Nizāmshāhi* and by others to belong to *Adilshāhi*. Another writer says that he flourished towards the close of the Peshwa Period (Vide pp. 355-356 of *Madhyayugina Caritra Kosa* by Chitrav Shastri, Poona, 1937). The question of the identity or otherwise of our साबाजी प्रतापराज with साबाजी अनंत चतुर needs to be examined by students of the Marathā history.

“ श्रीमत्प्रौढनिजामशाह नृपतिः महान् ॥ १९ ॥
तस्यानुमान्यो नृपतिः प्रतापः कुलप्रदीपः सुकृतैकधामा ।
राज्ञामतिप्रेमतयाभिव्यो धर्मप्रवृत्तौ हरिरेव साक्षात् ॥ २६ ॥ ”

In the colophons Sābāji refers to his patron as follows :—

“ इति श्रीमत्प्रौढप्रतापनृपातिशरण्यनिजामशहानुचर जामदग्न्यवत्स-
गोत्रोद्भव साबाजी प्रतापराजकृत निबंधे परशुरामप्रतापे etc. ”

In the colophon of the Ms of the भृगुवंशमहाकाव्य (dated A. D. 1611) Sābāji refers to निजामशाह as follows :—

इति श्रीमदखिलमहीमंडलमंडनायमानगुणनिकराविराजमानश्रीमदविनाश-
(शी) परशुरामप्रसादपरिप्राप्तमहाभाग्योदय - निजामसाहानुचर जामदग्नि-
वच्छगोत्रोत्पन्नद्विजाधिराजश्रीमदविनाशि श्रीमत्साबाजीपंडितप्रतापराजविर-
चिते भृगुवंशे महाकाव्ये रामचन्द्रवरप्रदानं नाम एकविंशतितमः सर्गः ॥ ”

The foregoing references leave no doubt that Sābāji Pratāpa-
rāja was highly favoured by his patron निजामशाह of अहमदनगर or
Ahmadnagar. We must now try to identify this निजामशाह in the
list¹ of the Kings of the Nizamshahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar.

The Nizam Shāhi Kings of Ahmadnagar appear to have been

¹ Vide page 389 of *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. II (1909) Table XI-
Nizām Shāhi Kings of Ahmadnagar Nizām-ul-mulk, Bahri, a converted
Brahmin.

I—Ahmad Shāh (d. 1508).

II—Burhān Shāh (d. 1553-4) (Patron of साबाजी प्रतापराज).

III—Husain Shāh (d. 1565)

IV—Murtazā Shāh (“ the madman ” murdered 6th July 1588).

V—Husain Shāh (deposed April 30, 1589).

VI—Ismail Shāh (deposed by his father May 26, 1591).

VII—Burhān Shāh (died April 30, 1595).

VIII—Ibrāhim Shāh (killed in battle Sept. 1595).

IX—Ahmad Shāh (usurper set aside Feb. 1596).

X—Bahādur Shāh (deposed and sent to Gwalior, Capital taken by
Akbar, 1600).

XI—Murtaza Shāh (imprisoned and strangled 1631).

XII—Husain Shāh (a boy of ten, removed by Mughals and sent to
Gwalior, 1635).

See also p. 320 of Lane-Poole: *Mohammedan Dynasties*, 1925.

patrons of Hindu writers. Dalapatirāya,¹ the author of the celebrated *dharmaśāstra* work *Nṛsiṃhaprasāda* was not only a high army-officer in the employ of Ahmad Nizam Shah (A. D. 1490-1510) but was also his Keeper of Records. I have already identified this author in the *Burhān-i-Masir* or the *History of the Nizamshahi Kings of Ahmadnagar*, which Lt. Col. Haig regards as "fairly trustworthy so far as it relates to domestic affairs." In this very *Burhān-i-Masir* its author gives an account of the meeting between Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar and Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat as follows :—

"Some historians have related that the meeting of these two Kings (Burhān Nizāmshāh and Bahadur) took place in a village near Daulatabad and without the intervention of Shah Tahir but by the advice and intervention of *Khwaja Ibrahim*, the Councillor and *Sābāji* and that these two men were rewarded for the service which they had performed, the former with the title of *Latif-Khān* and the latter with that of *Pratāp Rāi*; but the story told here at length is the correct account. After this meeting Burhan Nizam Shah returned to his capital and Sultan Bahadur returned to Gujarat."²

The author of the *Burhān-i-Masir* wants to take away the credit of bringing about the meeting of the two Kings from *Sābāji Pratāp Rai* and his colleague *Khwaja Ibrahim Latif Khān* and to give it to Shah Tahir, the great poet of this period. We are not concerned here with the truth or otherwise of this statement of the author but with the fact of the existence of a Hindu personage of the name *Sābāji Pratāp Rāi* during the reign of Burhān Nizam Shah (A. D. 1510-1554). I am inclined to believe that this *Sābāji Pratāp Rai* is none else than our साबाजी प्रतापराज, the author of परशुरामप्रताप, भृगुवंशमहाकाव्य and भार्गवार्चन-दीपिका. Evidently he carried on the tradition of compiling *dharmaśāstra* works in the manner of the author of the *नृसिंहप्रसाद*

¹ Vide my paper on Dalapatirāya in the *Proceedings of Indian History Congress* (1933) pp. 313-318.

² Vide p. 184 of *Indian Antiquary* XLIX (October 1920) *History of the Nizām Shāhi Kings of Ahmadnagar* by Lt. Col. S. W. Haig.

viz. दलपतिराय highly favoured by Ahmad Nizam Shah ¹ (A. D. 1490-1510) who was the founder of the Ahmadnagar line of Nizamshahi Kings. If this position is accepted we may try to determine the approximate period during which Sābāji composed his परशुरामप्रताप and भृगुवंशकाव्य etc.

Sābāji tells us that he was निजामशाह-अनुचर or a servant of निजाम-शाह whom we have identified with Burhān Nizam Shah. He also refers to his title प्रतापराज constantly in his works as follows :—

(1) Colophon of भृगुवंशकाव्य —

“ साबाजी पंडितप्रतापराजविरचिते भृगुवंशे etc.

(2) Text of परशुरामप्रताप — नृपतिः प्रतापः ” (= प्रतापराज);

— “ राजा प्रतापः कृतपुण्यनंदितः ”

— “ कांडैः शोडशाभिः प्रतापनृपतिः etc. ”

— “ श्रीरामांगिरस प्रतापनृपतेः श्रीकूर्मआदेशतः ”

(3) Colophon of परशुरामप्रताप —

“ साबाजी प्रतापराजविरचितनिबंधे ”

(B. O. R. I. Ms. No. 157 of Vis I dated A. D. 1784)

If प्रतापराज was a title of Sābāji it must have been conferred on him by his royal patron Burhān Nizam Shah and the story about the award of this title referred to in the *Burhān-i-Masir* may be taken to be correct in so far as the fact of the award of this title is concerned. We are not concerned here with the nature of the service specifically rendered by Sābāji to his master Burhān Nizam Shah. If we believe in the story current before the time of *Burhān-i-Masir* that Sābāji got the title प्रतापराज as a reward for bringing about the meeting of Bahadur Shah of Gujarat with Burhān Nizam Shah it is easy for us to narrow down the limits for the dates of the परशुरामप्रताप and भृगुवंशकाव्य for the following reasons :—

¹ Vide Mr. V. S. Bendre's article on “ *Death of Ahmad Nizam Shah I Bahri* ” in *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IV, pp. 242-244. Mr. Bendre examines the relevant sources and concludes “ All we can say for the present with any certainty on the strength of the contemporary evidence of such a reliable source as Affonso de Albuquerque, is that the death of Ahmad Nizam Shah must have occurred some time between the end of April and the middle of October 1510 or in the beginning of 916 A. H. ”.

(1) Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat ruled for 11 years (July 1526 - February 1537 A. D.) In 1527-29 A. D. he forced Burhān Nizam Shah to retreat and acknowledge him as his Suzerain and read *Khutbah* in his name.¹

(2) In 1531 A. D. Bahadur Shah granted to Burhān Nizam of Ahmadnagar and also to his nephew, Muhammad of Khāndesh permission to affix the title of *Shah* (शाह) to their names.²

(3) If the title प्रतापराज was a result of the meeting of Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat with Burhān Nizam it must have been conferred on साबाजी between A. D. 1526 and 1537 A. D., which is the period of Bahādur Shāh's reign.

(4) If the expression निजाम-शाह used by साबाजी contains the title शाह the use of which was permitted for Burhān Nizam by his Suzerain in A. D. 1531 we have to suppose that साबाजी composed his works after A. D. 1531 and before A. D. 1553-54 the closing year of Burhān Nizam Shah's reign at Ahmednagar.

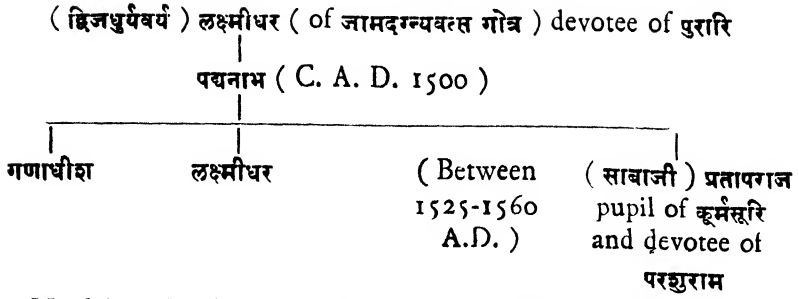
I have identified साबाजी प्रतापराज with his name-sake mentioned in the *Burhān-i-Masir*. This work was written by Syed Ali Tabātabā at the bidding of Burhān Nizam Shah II in A. D. 1591 i. e. a few years before Ferishtā. According to Prof. H. K. Sherwani "greater reliance may be placed on the simple narration of the *Burhān* than on the flowery and interesting, though at times inaccurate and exaggerated, description couched in Ferishta's History."³ In view of this evaluation of the *Burhān-i-Masir* my identification of साबाजी प्रतापराज in this Persian source of the Nizam Shāhī history written in A. D. 1591 is sufficiently reliable and possesses almost a contemporary character. I shall, however, feel thankful to Persian Scholars if they succeed in throwing more light on the personality of साबाजी प्रतापराज and his relations with his master Burhān Nizam Shah, so much applauded in the verses of the *Parasurāmapratāpa* quoted by Dr. Sharma in extenso.⁴ The genealogy of साबाजी as recorded by him in these verses is as follows:—

¹ Vide p. 80 of *Humāyūn Bādshāh* by S. K. Banerji, 1938.

² Ibid. p. 81.

³ Vide pp. 230-232 of *Mahmud Gawan* by H. K. Sherwani, 1942.

⁴ *PQ*, VII, p. 7.



My friend Prof. Dasharatha Sharma of Bikaner will be shortly publishing the *Bhṛgu-vamśa Kāvya*¹ of Sābaji Pratāparāja on behalf of the Bikaner Darbar. I hope the chronology of Sābaji discussed in this paper would be of some use to him in dealing with the life-history of this author, who flourished at Ahmadnagar court in the first half of the 16th century.

The works of Sābaji on Dharmaśāstra were used by subsequent writers for their own compilations. I have already referred to them as recorded by Aufrecht. During the course of my studies I have noticed the following references to Sābaji's works not noticed by Aufrecht or Mm. P. V. Kane:-

(1) C. A. D. 1675 “ तदुक्तं भार्गवाचर्येण दीपिकायाम् ”

“ इति परशुरामजयन्तीनिर्णयः ”

(Vide p. 43^b of Ms. of निर्णयरत्नावलि composed by रघुनाथ महादेव चांटे of Hardi near Rajapur (A. D. 1650-1725). This Ms. is with the Rajapur Sanskrit Pathashala—Ghate collection.)

(2) C. A. D. 1650-1680— रघुनाथ गणेश नवहस्त the friend of Saint Rāmdas quotes परशुरामप्रताप in the 2nd *Pariccheda* of his भोजनकुतूहल (Vide folio 90 of the Ms. of this work in the Raddi

¹ Prof. Dasharatha Sharma must have already used the Bikaner Ms of this *Kāvya* (No. 2897) deposited in the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner. My friend Mr. K. M. K. Sarma, the Curator of this Library has kindly supplied to me some details of this Ms. The 2nd copy of this *Kāvya* is the Calcutta R. A. S. B. Ms of A. D. 1611 already referred to in this paper. The 3rd copy (Sargas 1-7) is recorded by Dr. H. Poleman on p. 105 of his *Census of India Mss in U. S. A. and Canada*, 1938 (Harvard No. 1238). Prof. D. V. Potdar of Poona possesses the 4th copy of this poem. He has agreed to keep a micro-film copy of his Ms at the disposal of the Bikaner Darbar for the use of Prof. Dasharatha Sharma.

collection, B. O. R. Institute. The quotation is also found in the Ms. of this Pariccheda with my friend Rajavaidya S. A. Jagtap of Kolhapur.

In the heat of controversies over the details of political and dynastic history the literary history of the Deccan receives scanty attention at the hands of responsible scholars. We have yet to reconstruct this literary history on the basis of Mss yet unknown to the historians. I have been constantly discovering new sources of this history and publishing papers on them for the use of future historians of our culture as reflected in the provincial sources still untapped. The linking up of literary history with political or dynastic history, if successfully attempted, is bound to clarify our knowledge of the history of our ancestors, who were, not merely soldiers or politicians but were persons full of religious zeal coupled with a taste for fine arts, like poetry, music and technical sciences like Śilpa Śāstra, town-planning, dietetics, medicine, cookery etc. By a thorough study of the sources, bearing on these subjects the present partial picture of our history can be put in correct historical relief, which will not fail to create greater interest of the people in our past than what we notice to-day in our schools and colleges.

JURIDICAL STUDIES IN ANCIENT INDIAN LAW

By

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1. *Reciprocal Responsibility for Debts Contracted*

by Married People

It must be pointed out that the development of woman's rights regarding her personal property seems to appear from the Smṛtis. In Ancient India a woman was a subject which could be captured and become the property of the man who captured her (Mn. VII-96), and a wife had no right to possess her own property. According to Mn. VIII-416 three persons are said to be without property : a wife, a son, and a slave and whatever property they acquired was his to whom they belonged. This rule, however, is not to be found in the other Dharmaśāstras. Only in Mbh. is this question mentioned in three or four passages, but Mn. expressly mentions the *strīdhana* (that is a woman's property which she can freely dispose of) in the book IX-194 etc. (vide Banerjee, The Hindu Law of Marriage and Stridhana, Calcutta 1913). These two contradictory rules show once more that there exist in the Dharmaśāstras archaic rules of no legal value and that with the development of life and culture women in Ancient India acquired the right of owning property i. e. property which her husband had no right to dispose of during the marriage. That would be equivalent to the institution of separation of the consorts' properties. This principle exists in the Dharmaśāstras, but there probably exists one exception which is to be found only in K. (152/8 etc.). According to his opinion if the marriage took place in accordance with the customs of one of the lawful kinds of marriage the property of the woman could be enjoyed by the husband for three years, but if the marriage took place according to the *Gāndharva* or the *Asura* forms of marriage the husband was obliged to return the wife's property with interest (K. 152/9) and if the marriage was contracted according to the *Rākṣasa* or the *Paiśāca* form of marriage the use of this property should be dealt with as theft (K. 152/10).

In other words K. declares if the marriage was concluded according to the *Brāhma*, *Prājāpatya*, *Ārṣa* and *Daiva* forms of marriage the wife did not have the exclusive right to dispose of her property but her husband was also entitled to make use of her property for the first three years of the marriage. Only when three years of marriage had elapsed did the principle of separate property for husband and wife come in force. This can be admitted as the second stage in the development of the status of property among married people. But in the third stage there existed full separation of the properties of the consorts as we find it for instance in Y., Nar., Kāty. and others. In this case the wife was not obliged to pay a debt incurred by her husband and the husband that of his wife. This general principle is to be found in Y. (II-46) as well as in Vi. (VI-31/2). An identical point of view is represented in Kāty. (*Vivādaratnākara* p. 573), quoted by Jha (*Manu Smṛti, Notes*) who points out that the husband had no right to take away or to spend a woman's *strīdhana*. Even if he took away the *strīdhana* by force he could be made to repay it with interest and in addition could even be made to pay a fine.

As said before K. (152/9-10) prescribing that if the marriage took place according to the *Gāndharva* and the *Āsura* forms of marriage, the husband was obliged to return the money with interest and in the case of the *Rākṣasa* and *Paiśāca* forms of marriage should be considered a thief. This distinction in the responsibility of the husband for his wife's property in conformity with the different forms of marriage seems to be quite justified. Firstly because the later Sanskrit sources condemn marriages concluded according to the *Rākṣasa* and *Paiśāca* forms of marriage and secondly, because marriages concluded according to the *Rākṣasa* or *Paiśāca* forms of marriage are based upon capture or robbery, consequently, all actions having their source in this robbery have also to be considered as robbery i. e. a crime. That is the only source of law which solved this question in such an accomplished manner.

Of the other sources, Devala (quoted in Vyav. May. ed. by J. R. Gharpure, Bombay, 1924. Ch. IV. see 10, 10) only mentions briefly that " the husband has no right to enjoy the *strīdhana*. In case of improper alienation or appropriation he must repay it to the wife with interest ".

As in the Roman marriage without *manus* in Ancient India the principle of the separation of property is strictly applied in the progressive Dharmaśāstras. This principle is an indication of the highly developed juridical sense of the legislators and also to the high status of woman in Ancient India. Even the Code of Napoleon of 1804, which is at present in force in France, some parts of Poland and other countries, did not know the principle of separate property among husband and wife.

It is understood that this principle had to be applied only if the property of the married people was not separated. If the properties of the married people were separated the wife had the right to possess and dispose of her own property i.e. the *strīdhana*. She also had the right to lend money to her husband who was obliged to return it with or without interest in conformity with the respective agreement. This appears not only from the general structure of the *strīdhana* but also a *contrario* from Y. II-52 which states "that among husband and wife lending has not been allowed while the estate is undivided". The same point of view is represented in Kāty. (Vivādaratnākara p. 573) which remarks that "if the husband makes use of the *strīdhana* with his wife's permission and in a manner agreeable to her he should repay it".

But the ancient Indian sources of law also recognise certain exceptions from the principle of separate property of husband and wife. These exceptions can be divided into three categories :

1. Cases where the obligation of paying the debts exists independent of which particular conjugal partner contracted them,
2. Cases where the husband has to pay the debts contracted by his wife,
3. Cases where the wife has to pay the debts contracted by her husband,

ad. 1. When the debt is contracted for family purposes:—the first part of the verses 46 Vol. II. Y. * is not to be applied i.e. that in this case a woman must pay the debts incurred by her husband or son, a father those incurred by the son and a husband those of

* न योषित्वतिपुत्राभ्यां न पुत्रेण कृते पिता ।

the wife (न योषित्वतिपुत्राभ्यां न पुत्रेण कृतं पिता । दद्याद्दे कुटुम्बार्थान्न पतिः स्त्रीकृतं तथा ॥) because कुटुम्बार्थो हि दुस्तरः (household expenses are indispensably necessary—N. I-18). However, this sentence can also be understood as it was explained by Mit. at Y. II-46, viz. that the words "except when it is contracted for family purposes" relate to the last half-verse and the "head of the family should pay the debt incurred for a family purpose" only in that case the meaning of the words "for family purpose" was not explained by the commentators. The word *kuṭumba* however, means not only "family" but also "household", therefore, the expression कुटुम्बार्थादृते is to be understood as debts contracted for the household i. e. for the common housekeeping, hence conjointly responsible debts. The same opinion which is to be found in Y. II-45 is also expressed in N. (I-12) where we read "what has been spent for the household (*kuṭumba*) by a woman (*strī*) must be paid by the head of the household (*kuṭumba*) as well as in Vi-VI-38-39 where we read that "a debt which was contracted by any person (*kasyacit*)—(which might be the wife) for the benefit of the family (*kuṭumba*) must be paid by the head of the household (*kuṭumbin*).". The same standpoint is also represented in Brh. XI-50.

ad 2. An exception to the principle that each marriage partner pays only his or her individual debts exists in the case when the husband is obliged to pay the debts contracted by his wife. So, according to Kāty. the husband should pay a debt contracted by his wife if it is contracted for his sake when he goes abroad after telling her of his intentions (Kāty-578). For Kāty. represents the right point of view that the husband leaving his wife with her permission in order to transact some important business must consider that the debts contracted by his wife are his personal debts. *Conditio sine qua non*, however, is that the debts contracted by the wife must be for the sake of the husband and only for such debts is the husband responsible to other persons. This is the only exception of a real nature, for the other exceptions regarding the husband's duty to pay the debts contracted by his wife are more of personal kind. In contrast to the cases where the wife pays the debts con-

tracted by her husband there is no question of some categories of debts paid by the husband for his wife but there are cases where the debts contracted by the wives of certain persons are paid by the husbands. There are the debts of wives :

a. of a herdsman (*gopa*) i. e. cowherd (Mit. ad Y. II-48, Y. II-18, Vi. VI-37, Brh. VI-53, N.I.-19, Kāty. 568, 570).

b. of a vintner (*śaunḍika*) i. e. a liquor-manufacturer (Mit. ad Y. II-48, Y. II-48, Vi. VI-37, Brh. XI-53, N. I-19, Kāty. 568, 570).

c. of a dancer (*śailūṣa*) i. e. an actor (Mit. ad Y. II-48, Y. II-48, Vi. VI-37).

d. of a washerman (*rajaka*) i. e. a dyer of clothes (Mit. ad II-48, Y. II-48, Vi. VI-37, Brh. XI-53, N. I-19, Kāty.-570). Kāty. 568 probably uses the word *rajaka* wrongly instead of the word *janaka* (producer, progenitor).

e. of a hunter (*vyādha*) — (Y. II-48, Vi. VI-37, Brh. XI-53, N. I-19, Kāty.-568, 570).

f. of a barber (*nāpita*) — (Brh. XI-53) or the son of a sailor *nāvika* (Kāty.-568). *

These rules are explained, sometimes in a different manner, in Y., N., Brh. and Kāty. They can be understood in two different ways. So the husband had to pay the debts of the women mentioned above either because the debts were contracted in his own interest (Kāty. 568, Brh. XV-50) i. e. in his benefit, or, rather, because the husbands are dependent on their wives i. e. on the maintenance given by the women mentioned above (Y. II-48, Kāty. 570, and identically N. I-19).

It is well known that persons like herdsmen, vintners, dancers, washermen were living on the earnings of their wives, therefore, there was no reason to specifically state that these persons as husbands were not obliged to pay the debts of their

* Only Kāty. and Brh. mentioned this category of persons. Brh. makes use of the word *nāpita* and Kāty. of the word *nāvika*. It seems that the word *nāvika* was distorted and in both cases the expression *nāpita* would be correct. It appears also from the fact that distorted expressions are very often found in Kāty. as well as the "barber" belonged to a group of persons who were not much esteemed (see below).

wives especially as in any case the wives maintained their husbands. In principle it would surely be admitted that if a husband was dependent for his maintenance on his wife's earnings, then he ought to be liable for any debts incurred by her. (See Mit. ad Y. II-48). Therefore, besides the wives of men engaged in the occupations quoted above under a:).-f:). there should be included also the wives of oilpressers (see Vir.) and the wives of men who depend upon the labour of their wives independent of their caste and occupation. This covers the wives of actors, singers, dancers, rope-dancers, mimic-players, players on musical instruments, buffoons, wandering bards, jugglers etc. because they live on their intrigues i. e. they live on the earnings of their own wives (K. 129/9, Mn. VIII-162, Kām. 263/22-23).

ad 3. In this case a distinction must be made according to whether the debt has its origin in a specific legal action (A) or whether the distinction is inherent in the nature of the debt (B).
ad A. With regard to the debt which originated in a specific legal action Y. (II-49), Kāty. (546-547) and N. (I-16) are of the opinion that the wife was obliged to pay the debt incurred by her husband if :

- a. the debt was contracted by herself alone,
- b. the debt was contracted by her jointly with the husband,
- c. the debt was agreed to by her.

From the legal point of view this rule should be considered as superfluous as it follows from the general rules and so as far as the debt mentioned ad a:). is concerned the obligation has its source in the general structure of the *strīdhana*. A woman possessing her own property has the right to dispose of it and to undertake obligations which will be payable from her estate. This rule results *a contrario* from the general principle that the wife was not liable for the debts of her husband and the husband was not liable for the debts of his wife (Y. II-46, Vi. VI-31-32 and others). For this reason N. although aware of the cases mentioned above ad b:). c:)., does not mention that a wife must pay the debts incurred by herself alone.

Concerning point b:). there is no doubt that a debt incurred by the wife jointly with her husband must be paid by her. For

every obligation can be undertaken conjointly and the words "पत्या वा सह यत्कृतं" can also mean a joint liability undertaken by the husband and wife together. The obligation conjointly undertaken by the husband and wife is also mentioned in N. I-16, Kāty. 546 and K. 152/ 7-8. The latter Arthasāstra contains a rule concerning the wife's obligation to pay the debts incurred by a couple "who have brought forth a twin". The qualification "who have brought forth a twin", is rather superfluous, but it is possible that this phrase means on the one hand that the wife was jointly and separately responsible for her husband's debts contracted jointly with him and on the other hand that she was responsible for her husband's debt if she gave birth to a twin. Hence, in the latter case the separation of the properties of the married people should not take place.

The last half verse of Y. II-49 and Kāty. 546 give us an answer to the question as to whether all debts contracted by the wife jointly with her husband have to be paid by the wife. For the text runs: "A woman is not bound to pay any other (*nāmyāt*) debt". Probably the correct point of view is represented by Mit. (ad II-49) who is of the opinion that this half verse refers to the text quoted above, therefore it has to be interpreted as "except any other bad debt, i. e. incurred for spirituous liquor, vice or gambling". *Per analogiam* the same could also appear from the verse 47. Book II-Y. where we read that "the son should not pay any paternal debt which was contracted for the purposes of indulging in spirituous liquor, lust or gambling."

As to the point c). which we meet in Y. (II-49) and N. (I-16) i.e. the obligation to pay the husband's debt if the debt was agreed to by the wife (*pratipanna*) it must be a debt which was incurred in the first instance by the husband but for which the liability was subsequently accepted by the wife. From the text the motive for accepting the liability is not clear nor is the term of such acceptance fixed. Such a rule should be superfluous according to the general rules, and Mit. (ad Y. II-49) affirms that "a debt which was agreed to (*pratipanna*) on being charged or enjoined by the husband who was either dying or proceeding on a journey, such a debt of the husband should be paid." A better rendering of the Mit. would seem to be "that which was assented to by the

wife acting under the wish of her husband who was either in a dying condition or about to set out on a journey." Strictly speaking such an interpretation does not appear from this rule but Mit. is probably correct in using such a wide interpretation. Furthermore the rule contained in Y. II-49 and N. I-16 is also to be found in the verses 546 and 547, Kāty. The points *ad a).* and *b).* are placed in Kāty. v. 546 and the point *c).* is placed in Kāty. v. 547 where we read. "A wife who was told by her dying husband 'you should pay my debts' should be made to pay". It is true that Kāty. mentions only the circumstance to death and not "dying as well as going abroad" but because the going abroad of the husband involved almost the same consequences as his death (see rules concerning the Law of Marriage) Kāty.'s opinion is probably correct. In any case it is probable that the husband gave orders to his wife to take over his liabilities. That would be justified as material benefits were connected with the dying or going abroad of the husband i. e. the wife would take over the estate of her husband. Kāty., however, asserts that the wife even though she does not consent to the order must pay these debts if she has the wealth (of her husband) in her possession. Though verse 547 of Kāty. is probably an interpretation of verse 16. vol. I. of N. and of v. 49. vol. II of Y., nevertheless this rule is consistent in relation to the type of question and can be considered as a legal interpretation of these rules contained in N. and Y.

ad B. More interesting, however, are the cases where the wife is obliged to pay the husband's debts because of their nature.

That occurred when the husband used his wife's property "in case of distress" (*āpad*) according to N. I-18 as well as Devala quoted in Vyav. May. (ed. by J. R. Gharpure, Bombay, 1924 Ch. IV see 10, 10.). The meaning of the word *āpad* "distress" is explained only in Y., K. and Kāty. (Vivādaratnākara p. 573).

And so the husband may make use (*gr̥hita*) of the *strīdhana* (Y. II-147):

1. in case of famine, (*durbhikṣa*) (Y. II-147 and K. 152/7) which means according to Mit. (*ad Y. II-147*) "for the maintenance and preservation of the family."

2. for duties prescribed in the Dharmas (*dharmakūṛya*) (Y. II-147 and K. 152/7) which (according to Mit. ad Y. II-147) had to be performed, or

3. in case of illness (*vyādhi*) (Y. II-147 and K. 152/7) or

4. in the event of being just under restraint (*sampratirodhaka*) (Y. II-147) or under restraint (*pratirodhaka*) (K. 152/7) which means according to Mit. (ad Y. II-147) "being under restraint or confined in prison or undergoing corporal penalties" (ident. Vir. ad Y. II-147) whilst Śūlapāṇi explains this sentence as: "what was taken by one of a higher *varṇa* causing obstruction for meals etc." (ad Y. II-147), or

5. in case of need of safety measures (*pratikāra*) (K. 152/7) or

6. in case of being harassed by creditors (Kāty. Vivādaratnākara p. 573).

Y. and K. and to some degree also Kāty. quoted in Vivādaratnākara give an excellent explanation of the word "*āpad*" and the respective passage has to be understood in the light of this interpretation because all the cases mentioned above indicate a difficult situation for the husband, who, for want of adequate property of his own, is compelled to make use of his wife's estate.

The Smṛtis do not mention whether the husband was obliged in these cases to inform his wife of the use of her property or not but it can be assumed that in certain cases such information was not given, as for example in the event of famine, but the wife was probably obliged to give her property to her husband if he was in prison.

The right rule mentioned above indicates the highly developed legislative capabilities of the author or authors of the respective Smṛtis and is relevant to certain additional duties of the wife towards her husband. In other words, if the husband had no estate of his own *the wife was obliged to maintain her husband out of her own property.*

In the rule mentioned above one can see a connection with the rules contained in different Smṛtis according to which "a debt incurred by the head of the family when unable to maintain the family or when suffering from a disease, and for the purpose

of meeting a calamity (such a debt is known as *āpatkṛta* that is incurred in distress), or a debt incurred for the expenses of a daughter's marriage, or for meeting funeral expenses -all such debts, when, incurred by the head of the family, must be paid by the family " (Kāty. 542-3, Mn. VIII 166, N. I-13, Vi. VI-34).

As the above mentioned rules are equivalent to each other in principle I am *per analogiam* of the opinion that debts incurred for the expenses of a daughter or funeral expenses etc. also belong to those obligations which the wife has to pay from her own property if the husband does not possess his own estate.

NASALIZATION IN MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

BY

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We know that in Middle Indo-Aryan a medial conjunct cannot contain more than two consonants, and these must be only (1) doubled, (2) mute after nasal of the same class or (3) aspirated nasal (or *lh*). Of these three kinds of conjuncts the "doubled" sound is sometimes further simplified to a single sound with a compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel: e. g. *Sad* + *Jiva* > *Sajjiva* > *Sājiva*; *Valkala* > *Vakkala* > *Vākala*. But there is also a change which is midway between the doubled sound and its reduction to a single sound with change of vowel quantity. This is development of an "un-organic" *anusvāra* in place of one of the consonants in conjunct, the vowel remaining short as before: e. g. *piccha* > *piñja*; *Sarvārī* > *Samvārī*.

This process, which has come into operation very extensively in the modern Indian Vernaculars, has been called by Prof. Turner "Spontaneous Nasalization".¹ Grierson² informs us that this nasalization occurs in Hindi, Guzrati, Marathi and in all other modern Indo-Aryan languages except those of the extreme northwest. That Bengali abounds in such nasalization is well known to the speakers of that language. Prof. S. K. Chatterji, in his "Origin and Development of the Bengali Language", has given a long list of such words.³ "This nasalization is much more common than we should gather from the study of the literary dialect alone. It is very frequently met with in rural dialects".⁴

The phenomenon, though extensively met with in the modern languages of India, are not of frequent occurrence in Middle Indo-Aryan. The Prākṛt grammarians take notice of this development of nasal before consonant, and name the set of words as "Vakrādi" or "Āsrāvadi" gaṇa. The sūtra of Vara-

¹ JRAS 1921, p. 344.

² JRAS 1922, p. 381.

³ ODBL Vol. I, p. 368.

⁴ JRAS 1922, p. 383.

rucci is "Vakrādiṣu" - (4/15). The commentary says, "Vakrādiṣu śabdeṣu viṇḍur-āgamo bhavati". The list of words is too well known to be given here. In his Prākṛt Grammar, Hemacandra gives the sūtra as "Vakrādāvantah" (8-1-26). The commentator writes, "Vakrādiṣu yathādarsanam prathamādeḥ svarasya anta āgamarūponusvāro bhavati." Vararuci is the oldest known Prākṛt grammarian, and his time may be taken to be not later than the 4th century A. D. The statements made by grammarians are corroborated by the evidence of the Pāli and Prākṛt languages themselves, as in both the languages a fair number of examples showing the so-called "Spontaneous nasalization" is met with. The number here is very insignificant when compared with the modern vernaculars, still it is sufficient to prove that the phonetic "law" of the Vernacular had its beginning in the phonetic "tendency" in the early stage of Middle Indo-Aryan. (1) Pāli¹: - gañchati for gacchati; maṅkulā for matkupa, piñja for piccha; saṃvarī for śarvarī; nantaka for naktaka; (2) Prākṛt²: - daṃsana for darśana; aṃsu for aśru; saṃka for śulka; vaṃka for vakra; miṃja for majja.

The facts that the Prākṛt grammarians take notice of this phenomenon and that a fair number of words in the languages themselves exhibit such a change presuppose a tendency which may well be taken to begin in some earlier period, i. e. in the "Early" stage of Middle Indo-Aryan. The inscriptions of Aśoka are known to be the earliest record of MIA, and very fortunately they are records whose dates have been ascertained definitely; and as they are inscribed in rocks they have come down to us immune from the changes often made by scribes in manuscripts. In the Aśokan inscriptions³ the following examples of nasalization are met with:

- (1) Mr > ṃb - tambapannī. This change may be explained thus - mr > br > ṃbb > ṃb. Cf. Pāli amba for āmra and tamba for tāmra.
- (2) Tr > ṃt - pālaṃtikya for pāratrika.
- (3) Sl > ṃs - niṃsi (dha) yā for* niśiṣṭakā.

¹ Pāli Grammar E. Muller p. 22.

² Grammatik, Pischel, art. 74.

³ Aśoka Inscriptions, Hultzsch - Introduction.

- (4) *Ṣ* coming in before short vowel - *mahiṃsa* for *mahiṣa* ;
susumsā for *śuśrūṣā* ; *visvamsayitabe* infinitive of
viśvāsayati.

The above examples show that even in the earliest record of the MIA the development of nasal before a consonant which was in conjunct with another or between a short vowel and single consonant is not altogether wanting.

It is a known fact that the Vedic language and Sanskrit (a language phonetically identical with the former) do not contain much of this nasal infix or substitute except in some declensional forms and in the intensive verbal forms ; (1) Declension-*havīm̐si*, *dhanūm̐si*, *payām̐si* etc. (2) intensive forms of verbs-*jañ-galyate*, *jamjapyate*, *cañcūryate*, *pañphalyate*. The nasalization in the former part of the reduplicated form may be explained as a case of dissimilation, yet the fact that the change of the consonant of the root to nothing else but a nasal is important.

Such words as *Kaṇṭaka* from **Kartaka*, *pum̐sa* from **pūr̐sa*, *mañja* from *m̐j*, *vaṅk(ima)* from *vakra*, *gañjana* from *garjana*, *lāñchana* from *lakṣaṇa*, *puñkha* from *pakṣa* might be regarded as good examples of nasalization in Sanskrit, but these may have had come from the spoken local vernaculars to the literary language at some later period. It may be argued, on the other hand, that as these words are fairly old, because some of them (e. g. *pum̐sa*, *mañja*, *vaṅku*) are met with in the Vedic language, they may, for all practical purposes, be regarded as OIA. words, and therefore they are good examples of nasalization in some very early stage of Indo-Aryan.

The Iranian branch of the Aryan is not without instances of this nasalization in the middle of a word. The following examples are from the Avestan : ¹ *Catanro* for skt. *catastra* ; *anhat* for skt. *asat* ; *vanhō* for skt. *vasyas* ; *aojanphvat* for skt. *ojasvant*.

Brugmann, in his *Comparative Grammar*², gives the following as " the substitution of a nasal for a liquid by dissimilation in the various IdG. dialects. IA. *bambhara* - bee ; *cañcūryate* < old-Vedic *car̐* - *cañ̐* - *cala* < $\sqrt{\text{car}}$ or $\sqrt{\text{cal}}$ etc. Gk. $\tau \propto \gamma \gamma \propto \lambda \epsilon \xi \omega$ "

¹ *Avesta Grammar* - Jackson; G. Ir. Phil - Geiger & Kuhn.

² *Comparative Grammar of Indo-Germanic Languages*. Vol. I. pp. 212, 215, 226.

Lat. gin-grio; Italic - cancer; "This substitution of nasal", according to Brugmann, "might have had its beginning in the primitive Indo-Germanic period."

Verbal roots taking nasal infix may be cited as examples of nasalization. But we are not quite sure on this point, for the nasal may be taken as one of the many verbal infixes. The case of nasal infix is, however, included within the general phenomenon of nasalization for reason to be explained hereafter; Examples: ¹ IdG.√. lei_q-Skt. riñcanti, AV. irinaxti, Lat. linqū; IdG.√ bheid-Skt. *bhindati (Pkt. bhindadi), Lat. ūndo. - (Class XV). IdG.√ peik - Skt. *pimśati (Pkt. pīsa°), Lat. pingo. IdG.√ quert - Skt. kṛntati, Lith. Krintu. (Class XVI). The nasalization met with in the modern Indian Vernacular is not, therefore, altogether unknown in MIA, OIA, Iranian, in the western sister languages and even in the original Indo-Germanic tongue. "Deś words seem to have a special preference for alternative forms with the intrusive anusvāra or nasal",² but it seems that this tendency was inherited by MIA from the Primary Prākṛt (old Indo-Aryan) dialects. As this nasalization is also met with in the Iranian it may be safely assumed that in the "Aryan" language it was not totally absent, and the evidence of the western sister dialects proves beyond doubt that the nasalization was as early as the original IdG. language. The tendency had its origin in the mother tongue, and it gradually extended itself specially in the Indo-Aryan so that in the New Indo-Aryan it has become almost a phonetic "law".

Before proceeding to trace the tendency in the Indo-Germanic we shall, first of all, give the various examples of the phenomenon in MIA. in a classified manner, and try to discover the general principles underlying the changes.

The illustrations given by Pischel in his *Grammatik*³ are the following:—

(1) S+Y - namasyati > namamsaī, Vayasya > Vaamsa.

(2) S+V - aśva > amsa, aśvattha > amsotha.

¹ Comparative Grammar - Brugmann, Vol. IV, p. 162f.

² ODBL. Vol. I, p. 368.

³ Arts, 74, 86.

- (3) R+explosive or spirant or h - Karkoṭa > kaṁkoḷa,
darśana > daṁsaṇa, barhin > baṁhina, sparśa > phaṁsa.
- (4) Explosive or spirant + r - aśru > aṁsu, vakra > vaṁka.
- (5) L + explosive - sulka > suṁka - ga (H. C.). jalpa > jampa.
- (6) Semivowel + semivowel - sarvarī > saṁvarī.
- (7) (a) spirant + explosive.
- (i) śk - śaṣkuli > saṁkuli;
 - (ii) śc - vṛścika > viṁchua.
 - (iii) Ṣṭ, st - grṣṭi > giṁṭhi, vitasti > viṭaṁsā.
- (b) explosive + spirant.
- (i) kṣ - plakṣa > piḷṁkhu, pakṣi > paṁkhi;
 - (ii) ts - vicikitsita > vitigiṁchiya;
 - (iii) ps - jugupsā > duḡaṁchā;
- (c) affricate + affricate.
- (i) cch - guccha > guṁcha; agacchi > agaṁchi;
 - (ii) jj - majj > miṁja.
- (d) explosive + explosive.
- (i) tk, kt - mtkuṇa > maṁkuṇa, naktaka > ṇaṁtaka.
- (8) (a) Spirant + nasal -
sm - asmi > aṁsi,
- (b) explosive + nasal -
dhn - budhna > buṇdha.

Of the above examples No. 8 need not be considered here as there are nasals in the original word and therefore the nasalization in MIA words is not spontaneous. Taking all the other cases together we may say that in case of nasalization either a sibilant spirant or a semivowel or both occur in the combination in the original word. (In No. 7 (c) the conjunct contains two affricates, it has, therefore, a spirant element in it. No. 7 (d) explosive + explosive (to be discussed later) may be taken as a later development as the number of cases in it is meagre).

What this semivowel or spirant had to do with nasalization we cannot exactly say, but this much is certain that in all the earlier stages of Aryan or IdG. dialects the nasalization is connected with either a semivowel or a sibilant spirant. The formulae may be laid down as follows :

- (1) Spirant and semivowel, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4.
- (2) Explosive and semivowel, Nos. 3, 4, 5.
- (3) Semivowel and semivowel, No. 6.
- (4) Spirant and explosive, No. 7.

Let the truth of the statement made above be examined in detail with examples from all stages of development of the IdG language, and if all of them show that nasalization is connected with semivowel or spirant, our hypothesis that the nasalization in the Indian languages is a very early phenomenon, and it can, through some OIA dialects and Iranian, be traced even to Indo-Germanic is proved beyond doubt.

First, coming to the dialects of the original tongue we find the following cases of nasalization :-

(1)¹ Skt bambhara, cañ-cūryate < car-cūryate ; cañcala √ car or √ cal ; pam-phalyate etc. Gk. γαργαλιζω from* γαλγαλιζω beside γαργαλιζω (γγ in Greek being equal to ng) ; Lat. gin-grio. Italic-cancer < car-cro. Skt. Kar-kaṭa.

(2) The following IdG. roots take a nasal infix :²

Class XV - √ leiḡ- Skt. rinakti, riñemas, riñcanti = Av. irinaxti ; Lat. linguō. √ bheid - Skt. bhindati (Pkt. bhindadi), Lat. findo. √ peis - Skt. pinasṭi, *piṃsanti, apiṃsat, Lat. pinso. √ uerg- vṛṇajmi, vṛṇkte, Ar. √ marc - Av. merenk-c.

Class XVI.

√ Leip - Skt. limpati, Lith linpu ;

√ jeuḡ Skt. yuñjati, Lat. jungō ;

also Skt. bhuñjati, Av. bunjaiti, Lat. fungor etc.

√ meuq - Skt. muñcati - Lat. emungō ;

√ reuḡ - Skt. lumpati, - Lat. rumpō ;

√ reuḡ - g - Skt. luñcati - Lith. runku ;

√ peik - Skt. *piṃsati - Lat. pinqō ;

√ ueid - Skt. vindati OIr. ro-finnadar ;

√ seiḡ, √ seiḡ - Skt. siñcati, Av. hincaiti, Lett. siku for *sinku ;

√ terp - Skt. tṛmpati ;

√ qert - Skt. kṛntati, Lith. krintu ;

√ reg - Skt. rñjati, Lith. renszti ;

√ bhergh, Skt. vṛṇhati.

¹ Brugmann. Vol. I, pp. 212, 215, 226.

² Brugmann. Vol. IV, p. 162f.

Of the two sets of examples given above, No. 1 needs but little discussion. One finds at a glance that the sounds replaced by nasals are only semi-vowels *r* and *l*. In No. 2 we see that the vowel *e* + its coefficients = *ei*, *eu*, *er* (also *re*) are weakened to the extreme vowels *i*, *u*, *ɾ*, and as a sort of compensation a nasal *m* or *n*, (weak forms of *em* and *en*) are inserted, i. e. *ei*, *eu*, *er* (*re*) > *i*, *u*, *ɾ* + *m* (*m̃*) or *n* (*ñ*).

This we may call compensatory nasalization. This nasal infix, as we see from the above examples from the different classical dialects, may be taken to be as old as the Indo-Germanic period. Had it not been so, we would not have met with this phenomenon in more than one older dialects. To argue that this tendency is an independent development in the various dialects is far from convincing.

Sometimes the vocalisms *ɾ* etc. are of the strong grade, i. e. *ra* etc., e.g. *Srambhate* (in place of *Sṛmbhate*), but this has been described by Brugmann¹ as new formations. The vowel *-e* occurring in the present stem of some roots may be explained as a simple vowel. There is no doubt, therefore, that the nasal in the examples given above was originally a sort of compensatory one. Question may be raised whether the nasals in this case are to be treated as merely verbal suffixes or themes purely external, or as a sound developed internally owing to some phonetic tendency. Of the thirty-two classes of verbs given by Brugmann, numbers twelve to eighteen are roots taking nasals. About classes XV and XVI Brugmann says,² "Most obscure of all has hitherto remained the "nasal infix", the nasal element and its relation to the nasal suffixes in the other classes." He gives his own explanation and those of Persson and Osthoff which suggest that the nasal is an external suffix come here from other classes by contamination or analogy. These explanations are quite plausible, yet we suggest here another explanation from our point of view. Of the classes of verbs from No. XII to XVIII it will be found that in all the classes except Nos. XV and XVI the nasal comes after the root element as a suffix, while in these

¹ Brugmann. IV, p. 165.

² Ibid. IV. pp. 139f.

³ [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

two classes it is an infix; moreover in no other class the vocalic elements in the body of the root are vowel + semivowel coefficient. As we have hinted before and shall prove clearly later on, that one of the sources of nasal development is contraction of sounds (assimilation, elision, eg. *aśru* > *asru* > *amsu*; reduction of vowel quantity - *susumsā* > *śuśrūṣā*) the nasal infix here can also be explained as a nasal "compensating the contraction of sounds". eg. *terp* > *ṭr-m-pati*, *er* > *r* and *m* comes in. This phonetic explanation cannot be altogether ignored, and for this reason we include verbal classes Nos. XV, XVI, as illustrations of nasalization which is merely phonetic.

(3) Again Brugmann, in his *Kurze Grammatik*¹ gives an account of the interchange between the semivowels in the different dialects of Indo-Germanic. He mentions the following substitutions:

(a)	l - n	(n - l)	in place of	n - n
(b)	l - m	...	...	n - m
(c)	n - r§	...	...	§ r - r
(d)	n - l§	...	...	§ l - l
(e)	l - m	...	...	n - m
(f)	l - r,	...	...	r - r
(g)	r - l,	...	...	r - r,
(h)	l - r,	...	...	l - l

Of these changes Nos. (c) and (d) deserve our special attention. In these two cases we find that when *r* or *l* is repeated in two syllables of a word, *r* or *l* is replaced by a nasal through dissimilation. The above case is similar to the case cited as No. 1, the only difference being that here the liquids, semivowels and nasals are inter-vocal. Here we are not much concerned with intervocal sounds and therefore refrain from dealing with this point in detail and giving examples exhaustively. On the whole the fact we gather here is that the semivowels *r*, *l*, *m*, *n* were interchangeable in the IdG period, and in the Aryan stage the change "nasal for liquid" continued, but the opposite one, i. e. "liquid for nasal" most probably dropped.

¹ pp. 240f.

From all these we may, therefore, conclude that the development of nasal in connection with a semivowel (liquid or otherwise) is probably pre-Aryan, and may have been as old as the original Indo-Germanic.

In the Iranian language the following cases of nasalization are met with:¹

(a) Ir. *h* > Av. *ṇ*, *ṇh*, *ṇg*, before *r*.

Av. *catanro* = Skt. *catasra*,

Av. *hazanhrem* = Skt. *sahasra*,

Av. *dangra* = Skt. *dasra*.

(b) Ir. *h* > Av. *nh*, *inh*, *ngh* before *y*.

Av. *vanho* = Skt. *vasyas*.

Av. *ainha* = Skt. *asya*,

Av. *dainheus* = Skt. *dasyu*.

(c) Ir. *h* > Av. *nh*, *nah*, *ngh*, before *v*.

Av. *vanhus* = Skt. *vasu*,

Av. *vanuhim* = Skt. *vasvīm*,

Av. *aojonghvant* = Skt. *ojasvant*.

(d) Ir. *h* > Av. *nh*, *nnh*, *ngh* between *a*-vowels (rarely other vowels).

Av. *anhat* = Skt. *asat*,

Av. *vēnghat* = Skt. *vasat*,

Av. *vēnnhaiti* = Skt. *vasat*,

Av. *nemanhe* = Skt. *namase*,

Av. *anhu* = Skt. *asu*,

Av. *mananhā* = Skt. *manasā*,

Av. *vahyanhe* = Skt. *Vasyasē*.

As Iranian *h* = IdG. *s* = Indo-Aryan *s*, we get the following from the examples mentioned:—

(a) IdG. *s* (followed by *r*) = IA. *s* (*r*) = Av. *ṇg* (*r*), *ṇh* (*r*),

b) „ „ *y* = „ *s* (*y*) = Av. *ngh* (*y*), *nh* (*y*),

(c) „ „ *v* = „ *s* (*v*) = Av. *ngh* (*v*), *nh* (*v*),

(d) „ *s* (between vowels) = „ *s* (with vowels) = Av. *ngh*, *nh*.

From the above equations we get that of the two branches of Aryan, the Indo-Aryan branch, as met with in the standard

¹ Avesta Grammar - Jackson. p. 42f; G. Ir. Phil. p. 166f.

Avestisch Elementar Buch - Reichelt. p. 54f.

literary Vedic dialect, the combinations (a) sibilant + semi-vowel, and (b) sibilant between two *a*-vowels remain unchanged, but in the Iranian branch, as represented by the Avestan dialect, the sibilant is changed into a "h", and a nasal (*n*) with or without a guttural -*g* is developed before it. This change was unknown in standard Vedic dialect, but we shall not probably be mistaken if we assume that in some other Old Indo-Aryan dialects the case was not so. The spoken vernaculars of some regions must have had developed a nasal element before sibilant-spirant and semivowels (including *l*, absent in Avestan), sometimes only the former i. e. the sibilant occurring in a word, sometimes only the latter i. e. the semivowel, and again, in some cases, both occurring simultaneously. This conjecture seems to be corroborated by the evidence of the Avestan on the one hand and that of the Middle Indo-Aryan on the other. If the formulae deduced in the cases of Middle Indo-Aryan and Avestan are compared the first one of the former seems to tally with the first three of the latter. Even the fourth formula of Avesta i. e. "nasalization between vowels" was not altogether unknown in MIA. In the different stages of MIA¹ (including the early Inscriptional period) we meet with changes like *mahimsa* < *mahiṣa*, *susumṣā* < *śuśrūṣā*, *dandha* < *dr̥dha*, *naṅga* < *nāga*, *siṁgāla* < *ṣṛgāla* etc. This form may owe its origin to vowel-quantity, but the same explanation may hold good also in the case of Avestan. So, out of the four formulae regarding MIA we may trace at least two to early Iranian. In the common formulae there is only one point of difference which may be taken notice of. It is in Avestan that the developed element is a class-nasal with or without its corresponding sonant, while in Indo-Aryan it is an *anusvāra*. This fact is not very difficult to explain, as the *anusvāra* came into use in the Aryan before sibilants and *h*, and according to the *Prātisākhya*s it resembled the class-nasal in having a specific quantity.²

The fact that there are some common features in point of nasal development in MIA and Avestan is of primary importance to us. We have already said that in the Iranian, the combination, sibilant (> *h*) and semivowel, and intervocal sibilant had

¹ *Asoka Inscriptions* - Hultzsch, Intro.; *Pāli Grammar* - E. Muller. p. 22.

² *Tait. Prāt.* - Ed. Whitney, p. 8.

developed a nasal, and this tendency was inherited by MIA from some OIA spoken dialect akin to Iranian in this point of change. To the question, why this sibilant ($> h$) developed a nasal before it, the answer seems to be that originally the ordinary semivowels r, y, v tended to be converted to the nasal semivowels; in the Aryan period the nasal developed; but the semivowels themselves persisted in the words, and in the later period of Indo-Aryan (of course long before the actual MIA period began) the semivowels began to drop out. The parallel of such a process is found in the Vedic itself;

early OIA sarva $>$ later OIA sarvva $>$ Pkt. savva

Do. dyuti $>$ Do. jyoti $>$ Do. juti

Here the semivowels first develop a sound-change and then drop out.

Thus we have: Ar. Sr $>$ Ir. hr $>$ Av. nhr $>$ nr ;

Ar. Sr $>$ IA. sr $>$ ms.

The changes of *sy* and *sv* exhibit a more interesting point in support of our theory. For *sv* one of the changes is by *nuh*, which in manuscripts is shown as *nh*. In *sy* sometimes-*y* remains, (only when there is no nasalization), as, *sy* $>$ *hy*, but in the case of nasal development *y* vanishes either (a) leaving an epenthesis (*inh*) or (b) with a following "a" becoming "e" (*inhe*) or (c) without leaving an epenthesis (*nh*). Thus the complete elision of the semivowel element after nasalization as found in MIA is not altogether absent in Iranian. At any rate, we find both the modification and the elision of the semivowel in a very early period of Aryan. The formula may be put thus:-

Aryan — s + semivowels r, v, y	}	(1) Ir. <u>nh</u> r; <u>nh</u> y, <u>nh</u> , <u>nh</u> ; <u>inh</u> , <u>inhe</u> , <u>nh</u> .
		(2) OIA. (dialects other than Vedic) <u>msr</u> ; <u>msv</u> ; <u>msy</u> $>$ MIA.- <u>ms</u> .

In our opinion the nasalizations in cases of sibilant and semivowel were the earliest. There occurred something like a quantitative compensation. Then came the case of a "nasal insertion" before $s > h$ between vowels which also took place for the same

reason. The formula for the latter case would be : Aryan. asa (or other vowel) > Ir. anha (or other vowel) ; Aryan. asa (or other vowel) > OIA. (dialect) * amsa > MIA. amsa (in case of IA. both the vowels may be other than a).

As the nasal development in standard Vedic (and therefore in Sanskrit) is rare, it has not been discussed separately before. Here a passing mention may be made in corroboration of our theory. The cases of nasalization in OIA and Skt, as cited before, supply us with facts which tend towards the conclusion already made. Though there are cases of dissimilation yet the name of the suffix “*yañ*” itself shows that a semivowel element (*y*) in the latter syllable gives rise to a nasal in the former one by way of dissimilation. The second set consists of the declensional forms of words ending in *as, is, us* – *payāmsi, havīmsi, dhanūmsi*. A third set, not mentioned before, deserves notice : *tujyate > tuñjate; dr̥hyati > dr̥mhati* etc ; there is even a form like *śobhate-śumbhati*. These three sets of change positively tally with the changes mentioned with regard to Avestan. From set nos. 1 and 3, we gather that just like Avestan the semivowel (*y*) gives rise to a nasal, and No. 2, similarly, is wholly identical with the fourth formula regarding Avesta, viz., that intervocal sibilant develops a nasal before it. Thus we find that though the cases of nasalization are very meagre in standard Vedic and Sanskrit, yet the little we have of this phonetic phenomenon does corroborate beyond doubt what we conclude from a study of Avestan and MIA.

When this nasalization in connection with sibilant and semivowel became established in Indo-Aryan it extended to combinations like “ explosive and semivowel ”, “ explosive and sibilant ” etc. Regarding this explosive one point is worth noticing. It is a wellknown fact that the intervocal explosives in MIA became spirant before complete elision. So in the early stage of MIA explosives may be treated as spirants. The nasal development in connection with sibilant spirants might have had been very easily contaminated to the ordinary spirants arising from original explosives. This fact also goes in favour of our previous conclusion.

Below are given in a tabular form the results of our investigation.

	<i>Dissimilative</i>	<i>Compensatory</i>
IdG. dialects including OIA	(1) <i>y, r</i> in conjunct with consonant of the next syllable changed to nasal owing to <i>y, r</i> in the next syllable (2) nasal in place of <i>r, l</i> (intervocal) when contained also by the next syllable.	(1) nasal due to contraction of vowel and its coefficient (<i>ei, eu, er</i> etc.) in verbal forms.
OIA & Skt.	(1) nasal in first syllable due to semivowel in next syllable in intensive forms of verbs. (2) nasal in some alternative verbal forms due to a following semivowel.	Nasal before intervocal sibilant (<i>s</i>) in declension.
Avestan	(1) nasal before <i>s > h</i> followed by semivowels <i>y, v, r</i> , (leading to dissimilation).	Nasal before intervocal <i>s > h</i> .
MIA (a) (early stage)	Nasal in conjuncts due to semivowels <i>r, l, (v)</i> .	Nasal before Intervocal sibilant due to shortening of preceding long vowel.
MIA (b) second stage	Nasal in conjuncts due to combinations like sibilant spirant and semivowel, explosive (<i>> spirant</i>) and semivowel, semivowel and semivowel etc.	Nasal before intervocal consonant due to shortening of preceding long vowel.

If the various cases of nasalization in the different languages is compared it will be found that they have always a connection with a semivowel or a sibilant spirant or both. These may again be divided into two main classes, viz., dissimilative and compensatory. By dissimilative we mean the coming in of a

nasal in place of another consonant sound already existing in the word, and by compensatory the insertion of a nasal before an intervocal consonant, the preceding vowel being reduced in quantity to a short one, or the development of a nasal after the contraction of vowel + coefficient (ei, eu, etc.) to an 'extreme vowel.

Now we are in a position to say that the case of nasalization which is so extensive a phenomenon in the various modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars may be taken to date back not only to the earliest available phase of MIA, as stated by Grierson but is also traceable in the Iranian language and even to the later phase of the original Indo-Germanic parent speech. It may be argued that the phenomenon-in question as found in the various western dialects of Indo-Germanic, Avestan and MIA, developed independently in the various dialects, and can in no way be connected as one uninterrupted line of phonetic change, but the fact that in all the stages of the different IdG. languages the nasal development is always connected with semivowel or sibilant "in conjunct with consonants" or "single and intervocal" in some form or other leads to an opposite conclusion. The similarity between MIA and Avestan at least is more than an accident. Here a question may arise that if the nasal of MIA is to be traced to Iranian we must have had abundant examples of it in Sanskrit and old Indo-Aryan. If this tendency would be sufficiently met with in OIA it would help us very substantially towards our line of argumentation, but the fact that though meagre yet the cases of nasalization are not totally absent in the language. Even if OIA does not render much help in the matter our hypothesis does not fall to the ground, for, we are not bound to assume that the various MIA dialects must have sprung from the standard Vedic dialect. There were a number of dialects of the spoken OIA, and some of them might have had acquired this tendency of nasalization in common with the dialect of the Avesta from the original Aryan stage. That Aryan had this tendency cannot be denied after what has been shown in the table given above. There is another question worth discussing. It may also be argued that if the nasalization of MIA is to be traced

to Aryan through Avesta, sure examples of this phenomenon are to be found out in the Dardic. It has been stated at the outset that this nasal is totally absent in the northwestern vernaculars which are believed to represent the ancient Dardic. But this fact also does not disprove our point; for, the Dardic, like the standard Vedic, might have been a branch of the Aryan which avoided the tendency of nasalization. We therefore assume that the Aryan had two branches of dialects in respect of nasalization—one adopting it, another avoiding it. Some OIA dialects (represented by the various Prākṛts in the MIA stage) and Avesta belonged to the former group, and the vedic dialect imbibed it as a tendency in some subsequent period.

Some would like to trace the origin of the phenomenon in the Dravidian or the aboriginal languages; i. e. to call it “*deśī*” in origin. The *deśī* words might have had helped to increase the tendency, but if we are able discover some general principle underlying it and trace the same to the very early stages of the language there is no reason why it should not be called Indo-Germanic in origin.

To sum up :

(1) The nasal development is found in Middle Indo-Aryan language (both second and early), and has been discussed by Prākṛt grammarians. It occurs in Sanskrit and Old Indo-Aryan in a few number of cases. In Iranian it is met with in some particular series of words. In the early dialects of IdG. it is not altogether wanting.

(2) The nasalization is either dissimilative or compensatory.

(3) It occurs either in conjunct or intervocally.

(4) It develops invariably in connection with semivowel or sibilant or both.

The nasalization, therefore, originated in the later period of Indo-Germanic and it was inherited by some dialects of Aryan, e. g. Avestan and some Indo-Aryan dialects other than the standard Vedic. The Prākṛts (i. e. the languages of the Middle Indo-Aryan period) which sprang from these latter dialects, inherited this tendency which grew more and more in course of time so that in the later period the nasalization occurred even

where the semivowels and spirant sounds were not present. Thus our conclusion is that the development of nasal either in connection with "conjunct" or "intervocal" consonant in Indian languages is not due to an influence from *without*, but is a phenomenon originating *within* the IdG. language itself.

About nomenclature we may say that to the cases in which there was originally no nasal element the general name "Spontaneous nasalization" may be given; this "*Spontaneous nasalization*" from the point of view of phonetic explanation may be looked at from two points of view, namely, the processes "*Dis-similative*" and "*Compensatory*".

THE FISH IN INDIAN FOLKLORE
AND
THE AGE OF THE ATHARVAVEDA
BY

A. P. Karmarkar

I

The Indus Valley discoveries have really thrown light on the origins of the various aspects of Indian culture. In fact, they have thrown light on the origin of Polity, Astronomy, Economic and Socio-religious institutions, Philosophy and other allied topics. Among the many topics that have struck me most, is the one of the Fish, which at once happens to be the Lāñchana of the most glorious dynasty of the Minas, and also acts as one of the religious symbols of the Mohenjo Daris. It formed one of the eight forms of Śiva – it being one of the eight constellations of the Mohenjo Daro zodiac. Best of all the story of *Manu's Flood* throws a direct light on the age of the Atharvaveda and the close of the Indus Valley civilization. The Fish also played a prominent rôle in the socio-religious life of the Hindus during the later period. However, before proceeding with the problem of the age of the Atharvaveda we shall enter into the other details of the Fish.

The Fish in the Indus Valley Period

During the Mohenjo Daro period the most popular of all the forms of God was the fish. Various inscriptions refer to this:

- i “The Supreme Being of the Fish God (is) in front”.¹
- ii “The two fishes who are in the house of the very great Ram are (forms) of God who is outside (beyond) the country”.²

In the opinion of Father Heras the Fish formed one of the eight constellations of the Mohenjo Daro zodiac. Further, it is

¹ Marshall, M. D., No. 214.

² A. S. I. Report, 1928-29, Pl. xxviii, No. g.

interesting to note, that, one of the inscriptions refers to the Supreme Being of the Ram and the Fish of Naṇḍur¹—thus showing that the God of Naṇḍur was a combination of the Ram and the Fish. The representation on the above seal also elucidates this : an enormous ram larger than the human figures represented in it, having the head of a fish and bearing the horns over the fish's head. Yet the seal itself seems to show that it is only a form of God—a symbol or a representation—for on the upper corner of the seal the figure of God is represented standing in the middle of a tree, with the trident on his head, after the fashion of the seal.²

The Mohenjo Daro inscriptions generally describe Āṇ as 'Fish-eyed'—'which is a quality considered as Āṇ as Fish-eyed a beauty note in Indian aesthetics'. In one of the inscriptions it is said 'Mūn Mīṇaṇ', meaning the 'three fish eyes', thus directly referring to the supreme Being. In another it is described, 'the eyes of the great Fish.'³

The Purāṇic data, however, wonderfully corroborates with what is stated in the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions. The
The Purāṇic
Corroboration Skāṇḍa Purāṇa refers to the close connection of the constellation of the Fish and Śiva. In one of its passages, Śiva is addressed as : 'To Mīna or the Lord of the Mīna (or Mīnas)'.⁴ Further the Vāmaṇa Purāṇa states, that 'the two fishes are said to have been located in the ocean, in every country, and in the house of the Gods and Brahmins'⁵.

The Purāṇas have again thrown light on the problem in regard to the early association of the Fish with God Āṇ. The *Kālikā Purāṇa* states, that, Kāma, after he was restored to life again, installed the image of the fish-form of God Śiva on the Maṇikūṭa Mountain in Assam⁶. The *Skāṇḍa Purāṇa* describes that, 'at Rsi-tīrtha and another place just adjacent to it (both at Prabhāsa), there are three-eyed *Matsyas* or fish, and that, they

¹ Marshall, *M. D.*, No. 42.

² Heras, 'The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People', *Jour. of the Uni. of Bombay*, V. I, pp. 8-9.

³ Marshall, *M. D.*, No. 68.

⁴ *Skāṇḍa P.*, *Māhātmya Kh.*, Adh. 17.

⁵ *Vāmaṇa P.*, Adh. 5, 59.

⁶ *Kālikā P.*, Adh. 82, 50-52.

can be seen in this fashion even to this day' ¹. In another passage of the same Purāṇa, it is related that, 'once some sages practised penance and that they prayed Śiva (Śūlin) for bringing the Ganges to Prabhāsa. Śiva did so. And the sages saw the Ganges (in the Tirtha) as being full of fishes, which became three-eyed immediately they were perceived. The sages then requested God, saying, ' In our Kuṇḍa (holy pond) let there be fishes always, and that they be three-eyed in all the forth-coming Yugas ' ². The same Purāṇa narrates another account : ' Once upon a time, in moments of utter distress and calamity, the Ṛṣis or sages prayed and adored Narmadā, upon which a goddess appeared smiling in a dream, and said, ' Do not be afraid ', and disappeared. Next day, the sages saw the fishes coming along with their members (*parivāraḥ*) near their huts (*āśramas*). All the sages felt happy ' ³. In the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* P. it is stated that the Fish was worshipped in the country of the Matsyas, ⁴ and in Kashmir. ⁵

The recent excavations at Rairh (Jaipur State) have supplied us with two interesting examples. In one of the Some other Traditions representations, the mother-Goddess is painted red and stands full front carrying a pair of fish in her right hand while the left hip is seen holding the girdle. ⁶ Again one of the pottery plaques ' represents a female and a male figure standing full front. The crowned female figure which is taller than the male stands to his right with her hand placed on the head of the young man as if in the act of benedicting. The male figure whose right hand is on the hip of the female figure is seen holding a pair of fish in his left hand, an emblem usually seen in the hand of the mother-goddess ' (Pl. XIII, d.). ⁷

There is also another instance in current tradition. It is stated that at Nerenika in the Bellary District is a temple

¹ *Skānda P.*, VII, 1, Adh. 255, 2; 275, 1-2.

² *Ibid.*, Adh. 30, 1ff.

³ *Ibid.*, V. 3, Adh. 13.

⁴ *Viṣṇudharmottara P.* Third *Khaṇḍa*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Third *Khaṇḍa*, Adh. 121, 3.

⁶ *Excavations at Rairh*, Arch. Dept. Jaipur, p. 28.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

dedicated to Mallēśvara near which is a cave where a crude carving of a rock into something like the caricature of a fish is worshipped.¹

Fish as a heraldic device

The symbol of the two fish or the horned fish (Kombu Mina) formed the heraldic device or Lāñchana of many of the ruling tribes or dynasties in the proto and ancient India. In the Mohenjo Daro period probably the Minas adopted it²—though the unicorn formed their earlier Lāñchana. Later on the Fish Lāñchana was adopted by the Bilavas, Eṭkalis, the Kāvāls (whose Lāñchana was the Liṅga originally), Kalakilas and Paravas, who bore the title of Minavan. When a union between the various tribes used to take place, all the heraldic devices of the different tribes were depicted together, i. e., the union of the Minas, Bilavas and Eṭkalis is seen represented on one of the seals.³ Father Heras observes, that, ‘ the seal which bears this inscription has likewise the figure of an animal with three heads: of a unicorn, of a bull and of an ibex ; the unicorn of the Minas, the bull of the Bilavas, and the ibex of the Eṭkalis ’.⁴

To cite a mythological incident or two: It is said in one of the passages of the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, that when the fight ensued between Lalitādevī and the Rākṣasas, there were various kinds of flags depicted with the symbols of the Fish, Serpent etc.⁵ Kāma is designated in mythology as Minadhvaja. The first mythical descendant of Hanumān is called in the bardic list as Makaradhvaja.⁶

The heraldic device of the two fishes was adopted by the Pāṇḍyas of Madura, on account of which they were designated as *Minavar Koṇ*. It is also worth noting that the Royal House of the Pāṇḍyas was built in a fish-shaped fashion.⁷ The royal

¹ Moses, ‘ Fish and Religion in South India,’ *Q. J. M. S.*, XIII, p. 551.

² Photo *M. D.*, 1930-31, No. 3987.

³ Heras, ‘ Mohenjo Daro, the People and the Land ’, *Indian Culture*, III.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

⁵ *Brahmāṇḍa P.*, *Uttarabhāga*, Adh. 23, 24.

⁶ *Statistical account of Porbunder*, p. 14f.

⁷ Sewell, *A Sketch of the Dynasties of South India*, 1883, p. 74.

Lāñchana of the Matsya dynasty of Oddadi consisted of the Fish.¹ The Kadambas of Kalinga adopted this symbol.²

Fish as a Fertility Symbol

One of the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions refers to the 'Spring Fish'. Father Heras observes that the term might have been used to denote the symbol of fertility of God, who is specially seen in the Spring.³ This is corroborated by some of the later representations also.

In the Kailāsa temple at Ellora, the topmost of the three tableau contains the following representation: above the inverted stem of the lotus, ending at either end in a lotus bud and a flower combined in one stem, there are two other stems of lotus branches turned upwards on either side encircling as it were, two fishes combining in arch-like fashion at their mouths, which are about to touch each other, as if they were kissing, and in between them, in the intervening, is a full-blown lotus, the lower portion of whose stalk passes just between the space intervening the tails of the two fishes is the emblem of the Liṅga, rather rounded in form on a *pnivatta*, at each end of which is again a lotus. Above the Liṅga, is a smaller Liṅga, and above it, a still smaller one, and above these three successive Liṅgas, the Trisūla is again shown, worked out in a manner, quite in keeping with the heraldic details of the sculpture.⁴

Hayavadan Rao proposes that this may be the representation of Śiva in his Sattvic aspect i. e. that of Viṣṇu, the Preserver of the universe.⁵ But, as we know, the fish was closely associated with Ān in ancient times; and it was considered as a symbol of fertility. The three Liṅgas are the three aspects of the Supreme Lord. The lotus also is a symbol of fertility. Thus, evidently, the present design represents a tradition—a far ancient tradition, namely that of the Fish as a fertility symbol.

¹ Moses, op. cit. p. 551; E. I., V., 106; J. A. H. R. S., V. Pl. II. No. 4.

² J. B. and O. R. S. XVII, P. 175; J. B. H. S. V. fasc., p. 28; J. A. H. R. S. III. p. 171; IV, p. 113.

³ Marshall, M. D., No. 111, Photo, M. D., 1929-30., No. 8222; M. D., No. 405; *ibid.*, H., No. 89.

⁴ *Mysore Gaz.* II. Pt. I, pp. 156-157.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

The tradition is retained in another way. It is said to represent the *yoni* or ovarian fertility. It is comprised in the five-fold Makara, which 'taketh away all sin' of the Vāmācāries, the left-hand Śāktas, in its representative capacity of a symbol of ovarian fertility.

Some other examples come from the south. The Holeyars of Canara lead the newly wedded couple to a river wherein they put the wedding mat woven by the birds and catch some fish which the couple let go after kissing.¹ In some cases one fish is taken home and its scales adorn the forehead of the couple and they believe that this ensures their fertility.²

Fish whether a totem originally

It has become a debatable point whether the fish happened to be a totem of any tribe in ancient India. But we may safely say that the proto-Dravidian period does not show any sign of the prevalence of the idea then.

The Mahābhārata relates the story of king Matsya, who is said to have been born from the womb of a fish along with Matsyagandhā Satyavatī.³ The Harivaṃśa asserts that Girikā through Caidya Uparicara gave birth to seven children i.e., Mahāratha Magadharat̐ Bṛhadratha, Pratyājaha, Kuśa, whom they called as Maṇivāhana, Marutta, Yadu, Matsya and Kālī.⁴ The story of Pradyumna's birth from the womb of the fish is well known. The Matsyas of Oddadi relate a story as follows :

'In the lineage of Kaśyapa was the sage Nārāṅga, who one day while wandering in the sky, saw the river Matsyā which rises on the Mukunda mountain, and descending its banks he engaged himself in penance. The frightened Indra, in order to disturb the sage in his divinity destroying plan, sent down the

¹ Moses, *op. cit.*, Q. J. M. S., XIII, p. 554.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Mahābhārata*, Ādi. P. Adh. 57.

⁴ *Harivaṃśa*, i, 32, 91-93; cf. also *Brahmaṇḍa P. Madhya-bhāga*, Adh.

Apsarā and Mañjughosa. But the sage's curse changed her into a fish Matsyā, and made her to swallow the semen which the ascetic had thrown into the water. She in due course gave birth to a son who was called Satya-Mārtaṇḍa. Jayatsena of Utkala gave the boy a governorship and his daughter'.¹

Macdonell observes, that, there are possibly in the R̥gveda some survivals of totemism, or the belief in the descent of the human race, or of individual tribes or families from animals or plants.² He also cites in this connection the instance of the 'Matsya' occurring in the R̥gveda. But as has been observed elsewhere, the Matsyas seem to have obtained their tribal name 'Mina' mostly on account of their sea-faring activity. The Mina or the Matsya was also their heraldic symbol. In view of all this, all the later accounts seem to be utterly fabulous.

Fish in later Religion and Art

The fish as an Avatāra of Viṣṇu (cf. *infra*) is worshipped on various occasions. Many of the finny tribes of the Ganges are worshipped at the festivals in honour of the goddess Gaṅgā. Female Hindus residing on the banks of the Padmā, on the *fifth* day of the white half or the increase of the moon in Māgha, actually worship the Ilishu fish, and afterwards partake of them without the fear of injuring their health. Pious Hindus feed fish at sacred places with a lakh or more little balls of flour, wrapped up in Bhurja-patra or birch bark or paper with the name of Rāma written on it. Their eating the name of the deity ensures their salvation, and confers religious merit on the givers. There are special ponds reserved for fishes in front of many temples in India.

The fish is a sign of good luck. Its pictures are always drawn on house-walls as a charm against demoniacal influence. There is a widespread belief in Śringeri that skin diseases can be

¹ E. I. V., p. 106.

² Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 153.

⁷ [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

cured by propitiating the fish of this place.¹ In the Naulaka temple at Bhumli the fish emblem occurs several times side by side with representations of monkeys.²

The *makara* is the cognisance of the ninth Jain Tirthāṅkara, Puṣpadanta.³ Even Buddhism has adopted this symbol. It is worth noting that the form or aureole of Makara and lotus-leaf is still followed by Śaivite image-makers in South India.⁴

The fish is the vehicle of Khwaja Khizr, the water-god, and hence has become a sort of totem of the Siah Mussalmans.

That the fish was also closely associated with the social activities of the ancient Indians can be seen from the fact, that the Mahābhārata depicts how Arjuna, to win over Draupadī in Svayamvara, had to hit his arrow against the target consisting of the eye of the fish.

II

The Matsyāvatūra of Viṣṇu

In the mythological period various exploits are attributed to the Fish-form of Viṣṇu, namely, those of saving Manu from the great Deluge; the taking out of the Vedas from the clutches of Hayagrīva, Madhu and Kaitābha, Śaṅkhāsura or other demons, who had stolen the same away into the depths of the sea; and of the bringing of the conch-shell Pāñcajanya after destroying Pāñcajana. The first exploit consists of the saving of Manu or Satyavrata Manu; and it is said to have taken place either in Northern or Southern India. The second is described to have taken place at Prayāga or some other location. However, before entering into the *pros* and *cons* of the various problems arising out of these legends we shall first of all make a study of the legend of the flood itself.

¹ Moses, *op. cit.*, p. 552.

² Burgess, *Reports*, II, p. xliii.

³ Blacker, *The A. B. C. of Indian Art*, p. 54, Illustration, p. 56.

⁴ Havell, *Indian Architecture*, p. 82.

The story of Manu is related with some variance in the various literary works e.g. the Atharvaveda,¹ the Manu and the Flood Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,² the Mahābhārata,³ and the Matsya,⁴ the Bhāgavata,⁵ the Skānda,⁶ the Viṣṇu-dharmottara,⁷ the Agni,⁸ the Garuḍa,⁹ the Nāradiya,¹⁰ the Kālikā,¹¹ and the Brahmavaivarta¹² Purāṇas respectively.

The oldest account of the story is narrated in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. It forms the nucleus of all the later stories. While explaining the value and object of the Idā ceremony the story of the Flood is introduced as follows :

‘In the morning they brought water to Manu to wash with, even as they bring it today to wash hands with. While he was washing, a fish came into his hands. The fish said, ‘keep me, and I will save thee’. ‘What will thou save me from?’ ‘A flood will sweep away all creatures on earth. I will save thee from that’. ‘How am I to keep thee?’ ‘As long as we are small’, said the fish, ‘we are subject to much destruction; fish eats fish. Thou shalt first keep me in a jar. When I outgrow that, thou shalt take me down to the sea, for there I shall be beyond destruction.’

‘It soon became a (great horned fish called a) Jhaṣa, for this grows the largest, and then it said: ‘the flood will come this summer. Look out for me, and build a ship. When the flood rises, enter into the ship, and I will save thee’. After he had kept it, he took it down to the sea. And the same summer, as the fish had told him, he looked out for the fish, and built a ship.

¹ *Atharvaveda*, xix, 39.

² *Śatapatha Br.*, i. 8.

³ *Mbh. Vanaparva*. Adh. 190.

⁴ *Matsya*, Adh. i.

⁵ *Bhāgavata*, viii, Adh. 24ff., ix, Adh. 1ff.

⁶ *Skānda*, v, 3, Adh. 2, 34; *Vaiṣṇava Kh.*, *Kārttika Mā.* 3, 24ff.

⁷ *Viṣṇudharmottara P.* Adh. 75.

⁸ *Agni P.* 2ff.

⁹ *Garuḍa, Pūrva, Ācāra Kāṇḍa*, 87, 12.

¹⁰ *Nāradiya P.* Adh. 66.

¹¹ *Kālikā P.* Adh. 32.

¹² *Brahmavaivarta P.* iv. Adh. 3.

And when the flood rose he entered into the ship. Then swam up the fish; and thus he sailed swiftly up toward the mountain of the north. 'I have saved thee', said he (the fish). Fasten the ship to a tree. But let not the water leave thee stranded while thou art on the mountain (top). Descend slowly as the water goes down'. So he descended slowly, and that descent of the mountain of the north is called 'the descent of Manu'. The flood then swept off all the creatures of the earth, and Manu here remained alone.' Then it is told how Manu begets the race of Mankind through his daughter Idā.

This account forms the basis of all the later stories. Let us trace the main aspects of the later additions or deductions made in regard to the story itself.

Main issues of the Legend

The main issues of the legends occurring in Indian literature may be summarised as follows:

The *Matsya P.* describes that Manu was the son of Vivasvata, and that he renounced his kingdom in favour of
 Manu his son, and went to the forest of Malaya for practising penance. The Bhāgavata states that, 'He who is by name Satyavrata, is a Rājarsi and the Lord of Dravidas (Dravideśvara). It is heard that he was Manu the son of Vivasvat. He was one devoted to Nārāyaṇa'. All the other Purāṇas agree in calling 'the hero of the flood' as Manu.

The Agni and the Bhāgavata describe that the small fish jumped into the hands of Manu, when he was
 Manu and the Fish offering a libation of water on the banks of the Kṛtamālī, which, as Father Heras points out, is the same River that joins the Vaigai at Madura. The Mahābhārata states that the scene took place on the banks of the Cīrīṇī.

The various Purāṇas relate how the fish foretold Manu of the forth-coming danger (flood). The *Agni P.* describes it as being snowy. Further, the fish is in every case a horned fish.

The ship in which Manu sailed was tied to the horn of the fish. Some of the versions say that the rope with which the ship was tied consisted of a serpent.¹ The *Viṣṇudharmottara* describes that Satī (Śiva's consort) herself had become the ship.² The *Brahmavaivarta* describes that the ship was Amṛtā herself.³

Some of the *Purāṇas* describe the place where the ship was tied down and where Manu descended. Further the *Atharvaveda* states :

‘ Where is the sinking of the ship the summit of the hill of snow,

There is the embodiment of life that dies not ’.⁴

The *Mahābhārata* while endorsing the same account, relates that the place, where Manu descended, is situated on the *Himālayas*, and that it is known as ‘ Naubandhana ’ even now.⁵ The *Brahmavaivarta P.* clearly states that Manu got down on the *Trikūṭa* mountain.

These are the main issues of the story.

The Fish and its proto-Indian character

It has already been observed how the fish played an important role in the socio-religious life of the *Minas*, and how it was closely associated with *Āṇ* in those times. Father Heras observes that the horn-fish (*Kombu Mina*) also was identified with *Āṇ* during that period. The following inscriptions may be cited in this connection :

(1) ‘ flag of the two fishes of the imprisoned *Mina* of the year of the hoisting of the flag of the horn-fish ’.⁶

(2) ‘ That *Āṇ* of the horn in the living fish-eyed one ’.⁷

¹ *Agni P.* 2, 13.

² *Viṣṇudharmottara P., Khaṇḍa i.* 75, 9.

Brahmavaivarta P. iv. Adh. 3, 30ff.

Atharvaveda, xix, 39.

Mbh. Vana-Parva, Adh. 190, 48-49.

Maackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo Daro*, II, pl. xeviii, No. 614.

Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and Indus Civilisation*, III, pl. cxi, No. 347.

(3) 'That is the judgment of the horn of the fish who is the house.'¹

In this connection, Father Heras refers to a tradition, which is found to be current among the Paravas in later times. 'They used to plant the 'horn' or the 'sword' of the sword-fish in the sand in the midst of their houses; and when they went a-fishing they garlanded it and worshipped with ceremony and pomp, the spirit behind it.'²

Location of the Origin

Thus if the above conclusion be correct, namely, that the worship of the fish-emblem of God Āṇ-Śiva was prevalent in the country of the Minas, then we should be really in a position to prove that the version of the exploits of the Fish-God also must have arisen in this land alone.

The version of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, which is the earliest in Indian literature, must really help us in solving the above problem. The Śatapatha narrates that the fish saved Manu from the flood (*aughah*) and that it took him to the northern mountain (*uttaram girim*).

As has been observed above, both the Atharvaveda and the Mahābhārata agree in describing that the spot where the bark was tied down is situated in the Himālaya Mountain. The Brahmaparivarta P. clearly states that Manu got down on the summit of the Trikūṭa mountain. The Trikūṭa mountain is generally described as 'a triple-peaked mountain situated in the outer Himālaya, south of Chanani, held sacred by the Hindus. It is a curious three-peaked hill the last culminating point of the range separating Chenab from the Ravi. It is also a mountain in Kashmir'. Further as Das rightly observes it, there is some indication in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa of the situation of the region named Ilā. There it has been stated that Manu at the great deluge sailed in his ship northward from the shores of the southern ocean, and his bark having been stranded on the 'Northern mountain', i.e. the Himālaya, he disembarked and landed on firm ground on the mountain. Here he met a beautiful

¹ Mackay, *op. cit.*, pl. lxxxiv, no. 79.

² *Pattupattu, Pattinapalai*, ls. 81-103.

damsel, named Ilā who described herself as his daughter. It is very probable that this was the region (situated in Kashmir), called Ilā in the R̥gveda, and if our surmise be correct, it was situated on the Himālaya and regarded as one of the best countries'.¹

The exploit of the fish refers to the oceanic activities. And if we take into consideration the near distance of the spot where Manu is supposed to have landed from the original habitat of the Minas, namely, Harappa and other sites, then it becomes absolutely evident that the legend must have originated first in the land of the Minas alone. This shows evidently the Indian character of the fish legend.

III

Age of the Flood and the Atharvaveda

Surprisingly enough, the problem of the age of the Flood is directly interconnected with that of the Atharvaveda, and consequently of the close of the Indus Valley civilization and the early beginnings of the Mahābhārata. In our opinion, the Flood, which was really responsible for wiping off all the belongings of the whole of humanity in India at one time, must have been a reality—and the importance of which cannot be so easily ignored.

The tradition is preserved amongst many peoples and nations e. g. the Bhils,² the Tamils etc. The Babylonian legend has acquired a peculiar fame by itself.

The Babylonian account has many similarities with those of the Indian. 'The Fish-God Ea gives a warning of the coming danger to Uta Napishtim, the Babylonian Noah. It also acts as the saviour and announces the doom to Napishtim. It appears after the flood to Napishtim, as fish does to Manu and reveals its identity.'³

Probably, it is on account of all this that some scholars have opined or proposed that the story is of foreign origin, and that it

¹ Das, *R̥gvedic India*, p. 59.

² Das, *R̥gvedic India*, I, p. 59.

³ Peak, *The Flood*, p. 25.

must have travelled from the Babylonian region to India through the trading Phoenicians,¹ or even earlier.² Max Müller expressed the view that the story is of Aryan origin, it being absolutely independent from that of the Babylonian account.³ Vaidyanatha Ayyar 'seems to suggest' that the Dravidians must have carried away the legend to Babylon after having adopted it from the Aryans.⁴ Tilak proposed an Indo-Iranian origin to the legend.⁵

The occurrence of the Flood itself is indicated in the early literature. It is said, that the land to the west of the Western Ghats which was once covered by the ocean was, after the retreat of the waters, being called as *Paraśurāma-bhūmi*. Various accounts are related how Paraśurāma darted his arrow at the sea and asked it to go back. The most important legend of historical significance is the one related in connection with the over-flooding of Dvārakā immediately after the death of Kṛṣṇa, the main political hero of the epic. This was evidently after the Bhārata war was over. In regard to the Flood legend itself, we have said that it could have arisen somewhere near the land of the Minas alone e. g. the Indus Valley zone.

The Dvārakā legend somehow seems to hit at the point very notably. We know that the Bhārata war must have taken place after the R̥gvedic period was over. Veda-Vyāsa is said to have arranged the Vedas- a fact which must have taken place before the happenings of the Bhārata war. So that, it must have taken a period of about two or three centuries for all these incidents e. g. the close of the R̥gvedic period, the Bhārata war, and the over-flooding of the sea and rivers respectively.

¹ Kennedy, 'Early commerce of Babylon with India,' *J. R. A. S.*, 1898, pp. 260ff.

² Regozin, *Vedic India*, p. 345.

³ Max Müller, *India, What can it teach us?* pp. 133-139.

⁴ Vaidyanatha Ayyar, 'The flood legend of the East,' *J. B. H. S.* II, p. ii.

⁵ Tilak, *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*, pp. 385-87.

The whole of the R̥gveda shows a keen knowledge of the civilization of the Mohenjo Daro people. To quote a few instances: the Matsyas or Minas, the Śīśnadevas, the Mūradevas (equivalent to Mūruga or Kārttikeya), the three-headed and six-eyed Dāsa, the Paṇis-as being *Mṛdhraṇvāc* and *Grathins* (composers), and other factors in regard to the forts, etc. of the Asuras. But the R̥gveda has in no way referred to the fact of flood or the fish as having saved Manu. In fact the story for the first time occurs in the *Atharvaveda* (to a slight extent), the *Mahābhārata*, and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. The absence of it in the R̥gveda must clearly and logically point out that both the flood and the formation and currency of the legend must have taken place in the post-R̥gvedic period alone.

If this be so, then our conclusion shall assume a definite correctness, namely, that the incident of the flood, which took place immediately after the Bhārata war, must have taken about a century or two for its formation into a legend. And thus, with slight variations, we see the first depiction of the legend in the three early writings: the *Atharvaveda*, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.

We do not feel inclined to say anything more in regard to the unique non-Aryan character of the Atharvaveda. The references to the cult of the Ēkavrātya, the Aśvattha tree, the divine nature of the Serpent, Kāma, exorcism, magic and folklore, all these point to its non-Aryan character. We know for certain that the Bhṛgu were men of letters *par excellence*. They played their rôle in the formation of the Bhārata into the Mahābhārata. They have almost become gods among the Dravidian population in India (now especially Southern). Śukra is known to have been the Head-priest (Purohita) of the Asuras. Paraśurāma and Reṇukā are well known divine figures in Purāṇic literature. It is not surprising that these Bhṛgu, who were also the authors of the *Bhṛgu Samhitā* (now *Manu*), must have been also the people, who picked up the art and craft of the Dravidians and assimilated the same into their own works.

If this be so, then it is not impossible that the Bhṛgu, while imbibing the best of the traditions, legends and folklore of the

country, tried also to Brahmanize them. The Atharvaveda is a clear document of this kind. The Fish-legend itself gives another clue, namely, that its introduction shows the last stage of its compilation - though the beginnings of the same must be coterminus with the early portions of the R̥gveda itself. This must also be the period of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the early beginnings of the Great Epic : the Mahābhārata.

The flood itself must have caused the close of the Indus Valley civilisation. And during the later centuries we learn about it only in the form of traditions both in the east and Babylon. In India the Fish is identified first with Brahmā as in the Mahābhārata, and with Viṣṇu in the Purāṇic period.

THE CONCEPT OF STHĀYIBHĀVA
IN INDIAN POETICS
(A Psychological Scrutiny)

BY

D. D VADEKAR

The classical doctrines of Indian poetics have, most of them, their origins in the work of Bharata, the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Among such doctrines is the famous Rasa Doctrine of poetical appreciation, in connection with which Bharata lays down the following cryptic aphorism :

“ तत्र विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्तिः ॥ ”

An expositor has explicated it as follows :

“ स्थायिनः विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिभिः संयोगात् स्थायिनः रसत्वेन निष्पत्तिः । ”

Its purport has thus been rendered : “ when the *vibhāvas*, *anubhāvas* and the *vyabhicāribhāvas* combine to awaken the *sthāyibhāva*, the awakened *sthāyibhāva* finally develops into *Rasa*. ”

Bharata has said again :

“ विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिपरिवृत्तः स्थायीभावो रसनाम लभते (नरेन्द्रवत्) । ”

(*Nāṭyaśāstra*, p. 71).

This means : “ The *sthāyibhāva*, when acted on (stimulated) by *vibhāvas*, *anubhāvas* and *vyabhicāribhāvas*, obtains the title of *Rasa*. ”

It is obvious that the *sthāyibhāva* is here presumed to be some fact or phenomenon connected with the *mental life* of the *Rasika*, or the appreciator of a work of art.

The passages cited above are the *locus classicus* of Bharata's famous *Rasa* doctrine, which became afterwards the central text for the development of the various theories and explanations in the hands of the Sanskrit Sāhityakāras or literary critics. It is obvious that the whole *Rasa* doctrine hinges upon the central concept of *sthāyibhāva*, which is the core of that doctrine. It is this *sthāyibhāva* (whatever its nature), which, when acted on or appealed to by certain factors called the *vibhāvas*, *anubhāvas* and

vyābhicāribhāvas, is said to develop into *Rasa* (poetical appreciation or aesthetic enjoyment) of a work of art. A sound understanding of the *Rasa* doctrine, therefore, depends in the first instance upon a clarification of this central concept of *sthāyibhāva* in that doctrine.

A reference to recognised writers on this subject reveals a remarkable lack of any consensus of opinion regarding the exact psychological nature of the *sthāyibhāva*. Here are a few representative views :

Dr. S. K. De (*Studies in the History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. II) has used a variety of expressions to render *sthāyibhāva* into English : " the principal or permanent mood," (p. 27) ; " more or less permanent mental states," (p. 28) ; " permanent mood or sentiment," (p. 168, footnote 168) ; " dominant emotion," (p. 326) ; " dominant feeling," (p. 343) ; etc.

Pandit P. P. Sastri (*The Philosophy of Aesthetic Pleasure*) uses these phrases : " potential conditions of mind," (p. 18, footnote) ; " a permanent mental condition," (p. 39, p. 171) ; etc.

Prof. P. S. Naidu (*The Rasa Doctrine and the Concept of Suggestion in Hindu Aesthetics*, in the Journal of the Annamalai University, Vol. X, No. 1, September, 1940, p. 8) opines : " The *sthāyibhāvas* are the *propensities* of Western psychology."

Dr. K. N. Watave (*The Psychology of the Rasa Theory*, in the Silver Jubilee Number of the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XXIII, 1942, p. 670) writes : " The *sthāyibhāva* is the ' *Sentiment*'. Our Sanskrit *sthāyibhāva* is neither an instinct, nor an emotion, nor a mood ; although it has got an instinctive base and is a *primary emotion* in character."

It is obvious that these scholars have sought to identify the concept of *sthāyibhāva* in Indian poetics with some (corresponding) concept in Western psychology, as e. g. *mood*, *mental state* or *condition*, *emotion*, *feeling*, *sentiment*, *primary emotion*, *propensity*, etc. Now, if a concept of some mental fact or phenomenon as described by the Sanskrit literary critics is to be identified with the corresponding concept of some allied fact or phenomenon described by modern psychology, then this can be done in any *decisive sense only* after a direct and close, comparative scrutiny of the descriptions of both the concepts given by competent and

relevant witnesses, with a view to bringing out whatever *essential similarities* (and differences) there might exist between them. Similarities, then, if substantial, will make for their identity (and differences, if any, will have to be satisfactorily explained). The writers quoted above, apart from the thought-provoking suggestions that they have made, cannot be said to have done *this*, at least in a way that would satisfactorily decide the question regarding the exact psychological nature of *sthāyibhāva*. It is accordingly proposed, in this paper, to re-examine critically the descriptions of the *sthāyibhāva* in the Sanskrit works on literary criticism, with a view comparatively to ascertaining more definitely what fact or phenomenon as described in our modern psychology it approaches most in its essential nature.

II

Dr. K. N. Watave (*Rasa-Vimarsā*, Doctorate Thesis in Marathi, published by New Kitabkhana, Poona, pp. 136-138) has very usefully brought together the principal representative passages in the various Sanskrit treatises, which are meant to describe, though not to define always and strictly, the nature of the *sthāyibhāva*. On a close scrutiny of these, it appears that they can be classified under five or six main heads, emerging out of that scrutiny, of the dominant characters of the essential nature of the *sthāyibhāva*, as it was envisaged by these writers. Below are given these heads and the passages that would appear to fall under them :

(1) *Innate Inclination or Disposition* :

(i) 'जात एव हि जन्तुः इयतीभिः संविद्भिः परीतो भवति ।' or 'नहि एत-
श्चित्तवृत्तिवासनाशून्यः प्राणी भवति ।' or 'वासनात्मना सर्वजन्तूनां
तन्मयत्वेन उक्तत्वात् ।' (अभिनवभारती of अभिनवगुप्त)

(ii) 'सामाजिकानां वासनारूपेण स्थितः स्थायी भावः ।'

(काव्यानुशासन of हेमचन्द्र)

(iii) '... ...स संस्काररूपेण स्थायितां गतः ।' (संगीतरत्नाकर of शाङ्गदेव)

(iv) 'वासनारूपतया अतिसूक्ष्मरूपेण अवस्थिताः अविच्छिन्नप्रवाहाः स्थायिभावाः ।'

(काव्यप्रकाश टीका of सल्लकीकर)

(2) *Prevailing Predominance :*

- (i) ' यथा नराणां नृपतिः शिष्याणां च यथा गुरुः ।
एवं हि सर्वभावानां भावः स्थायी महानिह ॥ ' (नाट्यशास्त्र of भरत)
- (ii) ' सकलप्रधानो मनोविकार इति वा स्थायी भावः । ' (रसतरङ्गिणी of भानुदत्त)
- (iii) ' एकः कार्यो रसः स्थायी रसानां नाटके सदा । '
(संगीतरत्नाकर of शाङ्गदेव)
- (iv) ' सुराजेव विराजेत सः स्थायी भाव उच्यते । ' (साहित्यकौमुदी of विद्याभूषण)

(3) *Capacity not to be eclipsed by other factors :*

- (i) ' विरुद्धैरविरुद्धैर्वा भावैर्विच्छिद्यते न यः ।
... .. सः स्थायी ॥ ' (दशरूपक of धनंजय)
- (ii) ' सजातीयविजातीयभावानभिभाव्यः परानभिभाव्यो
मनोविकारो वा स्थायी भावः । ' (रसतरङ्गिणी of भानुदत्त)
- (iii) ' विरुद्धा अविरुद्धा वा यं तिरोहितुमक्षमाः ।
... .. असौ भावः स्थायीति संज्ञितः ॥ ' (साहित्यदर्पण of विश्वनाथ)
- (iv) ' सजातीयविजातीयैरतिरस्कृतमूर्तिमान् ।
यावद्रसं वर्तमानः स्थायीभावः उदाहृतः ॥ ' (रसगङ्गाधर of जगन्नाथ)
- (v) ' न तिरोधीयते स्थायी ॥ ' (साहित्यदर्पण टीका)

(4) *Capacity to attract, subdue or assimilate other factors :*

- (i) ' अन्ये भावास्तान् (स्थायिनः) गुणतया आश्रयन्ते । '
(नाट्यशास्त्र of भरत)
- (ii) ' आत्मभावं नयत्यन्यान् सः स्थायी लवणाकारः ॥ '
(दशरूपक of धनंजय)
- (iii) ' तै (अन्यभावैः) रसो (स्थायी) पुण्यते परम् । '
(साहित्यदर्पणटीका)
- (iv) ' अविरुद्धान् विरुद्धांश्च भावान् यो वशतां नयेत् ।
... .. सः स्थायी भाव उच्यते ॥ '
(साहित्यकौमुदी of विद्याभूषण)

(5) *Endurance-Stability-Permeation :*

- (i) ' चिरं चित्तेऽवतिष्ठन्ते संबध्यन्तेऽनुबन्धिभिः ।
रसत्वं ये प्रपद्यन्ते प्रसिद्धाः स्थायिनोऽत्र ते ॥ ' (सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण of भोज)
- (ii) ' स्रक्सूत्रवृत्त्या भावानामन्येषामनुगामकः ।
... .. स्थायी ॥ ' (साहित्यदर्पण टीका)
- (iii) ' तत्र आप्रबन्धं स्थिरत्वादमीषां भावानां स्थायित्वम् । '
(रसगङ्गाधर of जगन्नाथ)

(iv) '... अविच्छिन्नप्रवाहाः स्थायिभावाः ।'

(काव्यप्रकाश टीका of सखीकर)

(6) *Enjoyability-Delectability* :

(i) 'स्थायी एव तथा चर्वणापात्रम् ।' (अभिनवभारती of अभिनवगुप्त)

(ii) आनन्दाद्वक्कुरकन्दोऽसौ भावः स्थायीति संज्ञितः ।'

(साहित्यदर्पण of विश्वनाथ)

The following appears to be the *brad upshot* of the passages quoted above: The *sthāyibhāvas* are the *innate, predominant* or *prevailing, uneclipsable, assimilative, enduring and permeating, enjoyable, conative-dispositional* factors in human nature. In brief, the *sthāyibhāva* are the *prevailing, innate, conative-dispositional* factors in human nature.

III

If this upshot extracted from a scrutiny of the descriptions of the *sthāyibhāvas* in the works of the Sanskrit *Sāhityakāras* is representative and correct (as it is hoped it is), then it directly suggests (and invites) a *prima facie* comparison of the *sthāyibhāvas* with the *Instincts* or *Propensities* of western psychology to the students of that science. Below are accordingly given a few representative passages from the works of McDougall and Drever, the well-known British psychologists, who have done so much in recent times to secure a proper recognition for *Instincts* or *Propensities*, as the prime, innate factors or the original basic constituents of human nature :

(1) McDougall defines *Instinct* as follows :

"We may, then, define *instinct* as an *inherited* or *innate* psycho-physical *disposition*, which determines its possessor to *perceive*, and pay *attention* to, objects of a certain class, to experience an *emotional excitement* of a particular quality upon perceiving such an object, and to act in regard to it in a particular manner, or, at least, to experience an *impulse* to such an action." (*An Introduction to Social Psychology*, 23rd Edition, p. 23.)

(McDougall has also defined *Instinct* almost in similar terms in his later work, *An Outline of Psychology*, 4th Edition, p. 110. And he has defended the same general position in regard to *Instinct* in his *The Energies of Men*, 3rd Edition, pp. vi, 26, 64

and 118; but he has used in this book the term *propensity*, instead of *instinct*, to avoid certain controversial difficulties.)

(2) McDougall describes the significance of *Instinct* in human life as follows :

" We may say, then, that directly or indirectly the instincts are the *prime movers* of all human activity; by the *conative* or *impulsive force* of some instinct (or of some habit derived from some instinct), every train of *thought*, however cold and passionless it may seem, is borne along towards its end, and every *bodily activity* is initiated and sustained. The instinctive impulses determine the *ends* of all activities and supply the *driving power* by which *all mental activities* are sustained; and all the complex *intellectual apparatus* of the most highly developed mind is but a *means* towards these ends, is but the *instrument* by which these impulses seek their *satisfactions*, while *pleasure* and *pain* do but serve to guide them in their choice of the means." (Op. cit., p. 38.)

(3) McDougall also describes the relations of *Instinct* and *Emotion*,—especially how *emotions* inevitably appear in the wake of the operation of the instinctive impulses as the *affective reflection* of them,—as follows :

" *Emotion* is regarded as a mode of *experience* which accompanies the working within us of instinctive impulses. It is assumed that human nature (our inherited inborn constitution) comprises instincts; that the operation of each instinct, no matter how brought into play, is accompanied by its own peculiar quality of experience which may be called a *primary emotion*; and that, when *two or more instincts* are simultaneously at work in us, we experience a *confused emotional excitement* [secondary or blended emotion], in which we can detect something of the qualities of the corresponding primary emotions. The human *emotions* are then regarded as *clues to the instinctive impulses*, or indications of the motives at work within us." (An Outline of Psychology, pp. 127-128.)

(4) A passage from Drever, quoted below, focusses most of the points in the passages quoted from McDougall above :

"When we seek the *motives* for the man's acts, we find that, they reduce themselves on analysis to certain *motives more or less characteristic of human nature in general*.Moreover, these motives are *innate*.The human being comes into the world with certain *active tendencies*.These active tendencies.....may be designated *instincts*.These instincts are experienced as *impulses*, each accompanied by a *feeling or interest*, evoked by certain particular objects, situations, or other experiences, and manifesting themselves in more or less definite kinds of behaviour." (*The Psychology of Everyday Life*, 6th Edition, p. 20.)

The following appears to be the *main upshot* of these passages from McDougall and Drever: Instincts are the *innate prime movers*, the *dominant conative-dispositional* factors in human nature. These are the *enduring motive forces* behind all activities of man—*bodily and mental, intellectual, emotional and volitional*. They are *stimulated* by some concrete thing, aspect of environment or experience; and out of this their stimulation come into play all the *emotions and feelings* of men. All thought, activity or feeling arises only in connection with and is *subordinate* to one purpose,—the *satisfaction or fulfilment* in some way or sense of these native dispositions of man's nature, which is the grand *ultimate value*, the most delectable, of our human existence, in relation to which alone everything derives its value and enjoyability.

IV

If we now carefully compare the main trend of the descriptions of the '*sthāyibhāva*' in the Sanskrit works on poetics, of which we have given a broad upshot towards the end of Section II of this paper with that of the definitions and descriptions of Instinct in the works of McDougall and Drever, of which also we have extracted the main upshot towards the end of the last Section, it will be seen, I hope, that the two concepts, the *sthāyibhāva* and Instinct, seem to offer surprising similarities of their essential natures, so that we may almost recognise them as essentially, though broadly, identical concepts in psychological theory. The two, the *sthāyibhāva* and the instinct, are the (1)

innate, (2) conative, (3) dispositional factors of the original endowment of the human nature. They are the (4) prime (non-secondary) movers behind all human activities, to (5) which all other activities in human life, intellectual, emotional and volitional, are subordinate and contributory, and (6) which are the ultimate source and basis of all the human emotions and feelings, which are the main stuff and content of our aesthetic life and enjoyment. It is for the readers of this paper to realise this broad identity for themselves. I, for one, feel convinced about it. The 'sthāyibhāvas' of Indian poetics are the 'instincts' or 'propensities' of Western psychology. *

* Paper contributed to the Psychology Section, Indian Philosophical Congress, 18th Session, December, 1943, Lahore.

THE SYMBOLIC DEER

By

DOROTHEA CHAPLIN, F.S.A., Scot.

The *Deer* does not appear to have received much attention in the West, as regards its symbolic aspect, and there may be considerable scope for research in this direction. It was probably conveyed in allegorical form from India to America, from thence by the early tribes and their priests to the British Isles, being taken afterwards with many other religious symbols, to the Western mainland of Europe. Among the earliest monk missionaries from these islands to Western Europe were St. Kilian (brought up in Iona); St. Gallen, a Scoto-Irish monk, and St. Albert of Regensburg, a Scottish king.

Augustinians, Benedictines and their pre-Christian predecessors, founded establishments and created centres of religion and learning in these parts. But it looks as if the results of pre-Christian missionary work had been rather glossed over; in consequence, leading to some confusion of thought among excavators and antiquarians in regard to the direction from which the settlers came.

These missionaries, in pre-Christian, and also in Christian times, made their way to Switzerland and many other countries, possibly making the Abbey of St. Gallen in the North of Switzerland a base for their activities in that region. This ancient Benedictine settlement was connected with the Irish ecclesiastical centre of Bangor. There is a *Deer Park* near this Swiss monastery which, in ancient times, may have been a preserve for sacred *Deer*. The St. Gallen library, still in existence, "surpassed all the other Benedictine establishments in science and literature."¹

St. Nicholas is closely associated with the *Deer*, and is much revered in Switzerland. *Combe St. Nicholas*, in Somerset, (*Sumer-*

¹ *The Book of Dimma.*

seale), England, where excavations have taken place, and the chambered tumulus of *St. Nicholas*, in Glamorganshire, Wales, bear witness to his pre-Christian origin. He appears to be identical with Hercules (a Swiss hero). Hercules became the fabulous ancestor of the Swiss. He built a palace on the heights above Lausanne (*Lousonna*) for his son *Helvetia*¹ who was the tribal deity of the Helvetians, the first inhabitants of the Canton Vaud. It is plain that *St. Nicholas*, *Hercules* (of Switzerland) and *Eochu* are identical with *Kārtikeya* of India. In Umbria, Italy, *St. Nicholas* is known as the *Fire Father*; Hercules disappears from Switzerland in flames, *Eochu* presides over *Fire* ceremonies at the famous Druidic settlement of *Tara*, in County Meath, Ireland, and *Kartikeya* "sprang from Fire." *St. Nicholas*, as *Santa Claus* drives a team of *Reindeer*, his counterpart in Switzerland being *St. Nikolaus*, or *Brother Klaus*. The consort of Hercules of Herakles, is the *Deer* goddess *Meriga*; the consort of *Eochu* is *Etain* or *Etan* (Sanskrit, *Eta* or *Etan Deer*)²; and *Kārtikeya* receives a *Deerskin* from *Brahmā*, the Creator. The *Deerskin*, as the garb of Brahman ascetics, betokens *Sacrifice* as represented by the allegorical *Deer*.

St. Nicholas is the patron Saint of *Children* and *Kārtikeya*, with his consort *Devasena*, is Guardian deity of *New-born Babies*.

In Swiss legend *Ida* makes her appearance accompanied by a *white Doe*, with blue eyes. She does not seem to be *Ida*, consort of *Budh*, but rather *St. Edburga*, of Wales and Scotland. and in the far-distant background, *Sarasvatī*, the *white* goddess.

In old records, *Edinburgh*, the capital of Scotland, is sometimes called *Eityn*, and is manifestly the Borough (*Pura*) of *Etain* or *Edburga*. *Etain* is the *White Phantom*, in Keltic mythology, and in one of her incarnations, she is the consort of *Eochu*. A Maiden clothed in *Red*, the colour of *Kārtikeya*, or sometimes in *Blue* and *White*, the Pictish colours of Scotland, appears with a *Doe* beside her, in the coat-of-arms of that city. *Etain*, *Edburga*, *Morrighu* (sister of King Arthur) and *Ida* and *Meriga* of Switzerland are evidently the same character as *Modwen*.

¹ *Contes et Legendes, de la Suisse Heroique.*

² See Max Mueller and the *Rgveda*, *Mandaia* I., Hymn, 165, Verse 5.

St. Modwen and *St. Etain* are honoured on the same day, the fifth of July, in the Christian Calendar. *Morrigu* is the wife of the *Dagda*, (*Agni*, or one of the *Agni-dagdhas* connected with him. The *Dagda* is the Keltic god of *Fire*. The names of *Morrigu* and *Meriga* suggest that of the Indian *Mṛigi*, "Mother of all the Deer". *Morrigu* is *Morgan le Fay*, and was probably the tribal goddess of the *Clan Morgan* mentioned in the *Book of Deer*.

St. Nicholas is Patron Saint of a church at *Sevenoaks*, in Kent and of *St. Nicholas-at-Wade-with-Sarre*, in the same county. The *Oak* is the sacred *Tree* of the Druids, and this saint is also patron of Abbots Bromley, in Staffordshire the parish of which includes Bagots Bromley, famed for its *Oak-trees*. *St. Modwen* presided over the Benedictine Abbey of Burton to which the church of *St. Nicholas* belonged, and thus, in earlier times it would seem that Eochu and his consort *Etain* were the principle allegorical characters of this neighbourhood. The Horn Dance, old beyond remembrance, takes place annually in Abbots Bromley, and the *Reindeer* Horns are given out from the church by the Vicar on this occasion.

Near to Abbots Bromley¹ and the site of Burton Abbey is *Bentlee* or *Benetleyhurst*. These names suggest that there was a sacred Field dedicated to *Benet* or *Benedict* here. In pre-Christian form, *St. Benedict* may have been *Finn* or *Bind*, allegorical Hunter of the Gael, corresponding to *Bibhandaka*, an anchorite who lived in a great forest. *Finn*, of the Kelts, is the father of *Ossian* (*Roscrana*) who seems to be the Keltic counterpart of *Rṣyaśṛṅga*, son of *Bibhandaka*. The mother of *Ossian* was a mythical *Doe*, and *Rṣyaśṛṅga* was "born of a Hind". *Rṣyaśṛṅga* was born with a congenital Horn on his forehead, and is the Unicorn (*Nārāyaṇa*), and, probably, so was *Ossian*. *Finn* or *Bind* may have become *St. Benedict*. This saint, Father of the Monastic Orders, is said to have been born in Umbria, Italy. Monasticism, of course, was in existence centuries before the Christian Era. The inhabitants of Umbria are of Keltic descent, and are quite different to their neighbours. They adhere to many

¹ See *Abbots Bromley*, by Marcia Rice.

of their old religious customs, notably the ceremony at Gubbio, near Ancona.

St. Benedict led the life of a hermit, so did *Bibhāṇḍaka*. According to legend, *St. Benedict* established *Twelve* monasteries; *Twelve* is the sacred number of *Viṣṇu*, and the son of *Bibhāṇḍaka* is *Nārāyaṇa* (*Viṣṇu*).

The Swiss town of *Sarnen* possesses a coat-of-arms in which are a pair of *Stags' Horns* in Silver (*White*). The *White Book of Sarnen* is an old chronicle dating from the twelfth century, but much of its contents may have appeared in earlier versions, not at present extant, or may have been handed down by oral tradition. The Mother church of *Sarnen* is dedicated to *St. Peter* who, in Western Europe certainly has a Keltic origin and emerges from *Peder* or *Peredur*, the Indian *Purūravaḥ*. In the coat-of-arms referred to above there is also a Six-pointed *Star*. This symbol was a Hindu emblem before it became Judaic, because the religion of the *Aryas* preceded that of the Jews. One Triangle laid over another, in reverse order, produces a Six-pointed *Star* and, according to Hindu allegory, the *Triangles* in these respective positions represent the Masculine and Feminine elements of Creation. *Peredur* (*Purūravaḥ*), the son of *Lugh* (*Budh*) and *Ilā* or *Arionrhod* (*Ilā*) are the Parents of Creation.

Peredur is the grandson of *Ethne* (*Tārā*, the *Blue Sarasvatī*);¹ and *Purūravaḥ* is the grandson of *Tārā*, one of the Manifestations of the Mother Goddess. Apparently, in Keltic spheres, *Tārā* is the daughter of *Bran* or *Vran*; *Tārā* of India, in one of her incarnations, is the daughter of *Varuṇa* (the Ocean), who is one of the Twelve *Ādityas* or Shining Ones.

The termination " mas " as a Sanskrit syllable or word shows the *liaison* between some of the mythic figures of Druidic times and of India. For example, *Candramas* is the Feast of *Can*, Moon-god of the Kelts (*Can* or *Candra*); *Georgemas* is the festival of *George* or *Gwargi* (*Garga*); *Peder* or *Peredur* (*Purūravaḥ*) was honoured at *Petermas*; *Lugh* (*Budh*) at *Lammas* or *Lughnasad*, the name *Lammas* being converted by the Anglo-Saxons, at a much later period, into *Hlafmaesse*. The

¹ See *The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel*.

Feast of *Michail* (*Mahākāla*), of the pre-Christian Kelts, was *Michaelmas*, at which season *St. Michael* is now revered. The Feast of *Andrew, Ander* or *Adr* (*Nārada*) was observed at *Andermas*.

It is written of *St. Serf* in the *Book of Saints*¹ that " the traditions concerning him are very vague and contradictory." In *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland*, the author describes him as " a most perplexing hagiological figure. To make him fit in to our early ecclesiastical history we have to postulate the existence of two saints of that name!" But why try to fit him in where he does not belong? This saint is the spiritual Father of Kentigern. It is probable that *Serf*. (Cf. French, *Cerf* = Stag), who received the infant Kentigern from his Mother *Themis* (the Cosmic Waters) was, himself, the emblematic Stag of Kentigern. In 1513, *St. Serf's Hill*, in the parish of Abercorn, on the south side of the Forth, near Edinburgh, is referred to in the *Dundas Deeds* as *Sant Sarffis Law* (the Hill of St. Serf). There are *Antelope* supporters to the heraldic arms of the Duchy of Abercorn.

It may be noticed that the " I " in " Saint ", as in " Sair " and " Etain ", is an innovation, also the second " A " in " Saar ". *Sargans* and *Saarbrücke* are in the Canton of St. Gallen. *Saar* (a name sometimes given to the mother of Ossian), *Sarre*, *Sarine* (the name of a river in Switzerland) and *Sarnen*, *Sair* and *Serf* are obviously derived from *Sar*, a contraction of the Sanskrit word *Sāraṅga* (Deer). The various *Deer* Forests of ancient times in the West, such as that on *Pen Arthur*, near *St. David's*, South Wales, are reflections of the renowned *Deer* Forest of *Sarnath*, near the holy city of Benares, in India.

The name *Etain* is manifestly derived from the Sanskrit word *Eta* or *Etan*, meaning " Deer ", and many place-names beginning with the syllable *Et* appear to be associated with the *Deer* goddess *Etan*. *Eltenheim*, in the Black Forest, is said to have been founded by *Etto*. According to tradition, the abbey was built by Scottish monks and dedicated to St. Landolinus, a Scottish saint. The Staff which was placed on the spot where

¹ By the Benedictine Monks of Ramsgate.

the abbey was to be built, threw out green sprouts, and grew into an *Oak-tree*.¹ *Elt-sberg*, the Mountain of *Elte* or *Etain* is in the Canton of St. Gallen, Switzerland.

The father of Eochu is *Breas* or *Bress*, Priest-king at Tara, in Eire; the father of Hercules is *Jupiter*; Kārtikeya's father is *Brhaspati* (*Jupiter*), a form of the Fire spirit Agni. *Brhaspati* (*Brhas* = Fire; *Pati* = Lord) is Preceptor to the gods. " His genius and learning were profound, and he had a great reputation as a Counsellor.

The Book of Deer probably recedes backwards into the mists of antiquity. In this ancient tome there is mention of *Bede*, the *Pict*. *Bede* or *Beda* may have emanated from the Sanskrit *Beda* or *Veda* (knowledge). *Lossio Veda* is inscribed on a tablet found at Colchester, Essex. This personage describes himself as a Caledonian *Pict*. As *Veda* is a character in the *Mahābhārata*, *Bede*, of the *Book of Deer*, has a name well suited to become that of the learned figure who appears in Christian form as the *Venerable Bede*!

St. Kenneth, as Abbot of *Kilkenny*, (the Shrine of *Kenneth*) in Ireland, is honoured on the eleventh of October, the season of " the greatest of Full Moons ". He is *Kian*, *Cainnech* or *Can*, Moon-god of the Kelts. *Cainnech* is mentioned in the Preface to the *Book of Deer* as Chief of the *Clan Canan*. The Keltic *Can* corresponds to *Chan* of the Mayas of Central America, and to *Can* or *Candra*, the Moon god of Hindu India. *Lugh* (*Mercury*) is the son of *Can*; *Votan*, of the Mayas, is " of the line of Chan " and *Budh* or *Vudhan* (*Mercury*) is the son of *Soma* (*Can*) of India.

The name of the *Abbey of Deer* is not supposed to bear any relationship to the animal of that name, but never the less, there is much to suggest that the allegorical *Deer* was actually associated with this ecclesiastical establishment, and with the famous pre-Christian Keltic monastery which was situated within two miles of the site of the future abbey. There are Pictish and Druidic remains in the parish of *Old Deer*. The abbey stood above the River *Ugie*. The name *Ugie* is probably derived from a

¹ *Das Benediktiner = Kloster Ettlenheimmünster*, by Ludwig Heilmann.

feminine variant of *Ugra*, who is *Śiva*, in the form of *Vāyu*, who rides an *Antelope* or Indian Buck, a species of *Deer*. *Vāyu* is *Air*, one of the Five Elements, and thus merges into *Śiva*, the Container of all Five. As the vehicle of *Vāyu*, the *Antelope* represents the Swiftmess of Winds.

On the oldest piece of ground in *Peterhead*, Aberdeenshire, is the church of *St. Peter*. In 1560, *Peterhead* was only a small village, and the land on which it stood belonged to the Abbey of *Deer*. *Peterugie* is a parish containing a town of the same name, and the *Ugie* forms part of the boundary of this parish.

The founder and first abbot of *Deer* was *Drostan* (*St. Dunstan*). His original name seems to have been *Dristan*. According to Professor Watson, *Trostan* is "a distinctly Pictish name". *Dristan* or *Trostan* became *Sir Trystan* of Arthurian legend. In the earliest versions of *Tristan and Isolde*, *Tristan* is associated with a *White Deer*. Professor Golther gives a list of variants of the *Tristan* legend which he gathered from widely different sources. He traces it to India.¹ There can be very little doubt but that *Dristan* or *Drust-agni* is *Dhr̥ṣṭadyumna* of India. *Dristan* is the son of *Alisaunder* (*St. Alexander*) of the Kelts, and *Dhr̥ṣṭadyumna* is the son of *Skanda* of India, Field-marshal to the Army of the gods. *Sir Trystram* is one of "the crowned and laurelled warriors of the Island of Britain". He was a Warrior-Priest! *St. Alexander* is described by Mackinlay as "a shadowy figure". *St. Alexander's Hill* and *Well* in Stirlingshire point to a pre-Christian origin. Mackinlay classes *Alexander* among obscure saints. *Skanda* is a form of *Kārtikeya* who, in the form of *Maṅgala* is the planet *Mars*.

The most ancient church in *Stirling* is that of the *Holy Rude*. The *Cross* or *Holy Rood* is closely connected with the sacred *Deer*. The *Cross* represents both Death and Life, and is a flowering Staff. The arms of the Canongate, now included in *Edinburgh*, consist of a *Stag's Head* with a *Cross* between the Horns. The *Stag* is the emblem of *St. Giles*, Patron Saint of *Edinburgh*, according to the present civic division of this city. *St. Giles*

¹ *Die Sage von Tristan und Isolde*, p. 13.

10 [*Annals*, B. O. R. L.]

may be one with *St. Gal* or *St. Gallen*, who is sometimes depicted in art clad in the black habit of a Benedictine monk.

Apparently, David I., of Scotland, was one of "the sainted king Davids". On one occasion when he went hunting "near the present site of Holyrood, one Roodmas Day" his horse took fright at a *Stag* which suddenly made its appearance, and the horse ran away, separating David from his companions, whereupon he found himself alone, as in many similar tales. The *Stag* had come on a definite mission, although it is said to have gored the king with its antlers. A *Well* came into being on the spot where this adventure took place and *Holyrood Abbey* was built over it. David, otherwise *Devi Sant* of *Dewisland*, South Wales, was evidently a Warrior-Priest. According to Professor Loth, "St. David's Life is certainly one of the most legendary we have." *Sanddhe* (*Śaṇḍiliya*) appears to be father of *Hu* (*Hutāsana*), not of David, and his vision might equally apply to *Hu*, also connected with the sacred *Deer* which enters into this vision. *Hutāsana* of India is the son of *Śaṇḍiliya*. *Esus*, god of the Oak, may be the forbear of *David*; *Esus* is equated with *Hu*, and may be compared to *Jesse*, ancestor of the Judaic *David*. They may have sprung from the same source, although coming from a different direction. *Esus* is god of the sacred *Tree* and *Jesse* is the *Tree* of Life. *Hu* and *Tristan*, originating respectively from *Hutāsana* and *Dr̥ṣṭadyumna*, are both equations of *Esus*, and, at their source, they are parts of *Agni*, the allegorical High Priest who impersonates the generic *Tree* of Hindu India.

The emblem of *St. Hubert* is a *Stag*, between the Horns of which is a *Cross*. Apparently, he is the Christian form of *Hu*, the *Mighty*, *Hu* or *Huan* probably reached Britain from America where he was known as *Hurakan*, god of the Winds. The English word "Hurricane" is derived from this deity. *Hutāsana* may have been brought by the Toltecs, the earliest settlers in Mexico (with such a wonderful civilization), from India to America, there to become *Hurakan*, the Wind-god. The Mixtecs of Southwest Mexico had a *Deer* cult. There were sacred *Deer* in Nicaragua and Guatemala, and in California they are held to be the abode of deceased ancestors. Among the *Cherokees* of North

America the *Deer* is prominent "in myth, folklore and ceremonial." ¹

St. Brendan, as *Bran* or *Vran* of the pre-Christian Kelts, is *Triple-faced*, suggesting that he originates from *Varuṇa*, of *Siva's* family, who has the same characteristics, and sometimes has a *Deer* as his vehicle. *Three* is the priestly number of *Agni*. *Vran* is the Keeper of the *Holy Grail* with the same significance as the *Cosmic Ocean*, of which *Varuṇa* is Guardian.

The British Coronation service appears to be the oldest ceremony in the world extant at the present time, and originally to have been designed for the consecration of a Priest-King. The most ancient and solemn part of the ritual is the *Sacring* or *Hallowing*, and affords evidence of the priestly aspect. *Westminster Abbey*, where it is usually held, is dedicated to *St. Peter*. It is thought that the Abbey may stand on the site of a temple to *Apollo*, although this is quite possible, it is also possible that long before the Romans set foot in England there was a temple to *Peder* on this spot. *Purūravas* of India, the original of *Peder*, is a Sun-god, and is thus contained in *Brahmā*, the Creator, Sun and First Person of the Hindu trinity, which is entirely allegorical. Temples dedicated to *Brahmā* must have a door on all four sides, the Four Doors of the Sky; and this may explain the mystery (as it seems to be at present) of the visit by the King to the Four Corners of the Theatre in the Abbey, during the Coronation service for British Kings.

In India, the *Paurava* line was descended from *Purūravas*, and the founder was King *Duṣmanta* "gifted with great energy. And he was the protector of the earth bounded by the four seas. And that king had full sway over the four quarters of the world. And he was the lord also of various regions in the midst of the sea."

Thus it would seem that *Peder* (*Purūravas*) was the first ethereal being to receive homage on this sacred ground of *Westminster*, beside the holy waters of the *Thames* (*Tamasā*), a river allegorically represented by *Themis*, the mother of *Kentigern*, whose emblem was a Stag!

¹ See Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Part I., p. 263.

MISCELLANEA

OUR CORDIAL GREETINGS TO THE GANGANATH JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE

On the 10th of November, 1941, Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Sir Ganganath Jha passed away, and on the second death-anniversary there was ushered into existence by the pupils, friends, and admirers of that great Pandit and Philosopher, the "Ganganatha Jha Research Institute" at Allahabad to carry on the great life-work of the *savant*; and as the first fruit of the Institute there was published, on the same day, a Journal of the Institute, to which we sincerely wish a long and fruitful career. No memorial of the Mahāmahopādhyāya could have been apter; and as the writer of these lines was privileged, twenty-five years ago, to play a part in the founding of a Research Institute named after another eminent Orientalist—Sir R. G. Bhandarkar—he may be permitted here to recall a casual conversation that he had with Dr. Ganganath regarding the essentials of a "Research" Institute. This was in 1919, on the occasion of the First All-India Oriental Conference held in Poona under the auspices of the B. O. R. Institute.

The first requisite of a "Research" Institute, Dr. Jha said, has to be a first-class library of books and Mss. As regards the former, both the B. O. R. and the G. J. R. Institutes seem to be equally well-favoured, as both have acquired the splendid collection of books belonging to the scholars after whom they are named.¹ It is, however, necessary to keep the library

¹ The writer has to do here the painful duty of recording that the library which Sir R. G. Bhandarkar actually donated to the B. O. R. I. by stamping his own autograph on the individual volumes, has not, after his death, come to the Institute in tact. One important lacuna—the Petersburg Lexicon—was subsequently recovered; but other lacunae remain. For instance, it is unthinkable that Dr. Bhandarkar did not possess in his private library a single edition of the *Sākuntala*: none however has come to the Institute. It is no use guessing as to the fate of the missing volumes—they are between 3 to 5 hundred! Few however know the facts: the writer may be almost the last, and he avails himself of the present opportunity, as it is necessary that there be a recorded expression of the loss somewhere. Will the volumes be ever restored?

up-to-date by annual purchases for which an endowment fund was suggested. As to the Mss. library, Dr. Jha said that it may not be very difficult to get Mss. from private owners, once a sense of confidence is generated amongst the public. But random collections to swell the number are worse than useless. We must have the eye and the acumen of our friend here—meaning the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Kuppuswami Sastri, who was present during the conversation—to run the quarry home.

The second requisite was declared to be a band of research-students working under the guidance of experts in several fields. As the Ganganath Jha Institute is working in close association with the Allahabad University, it is likely to prove more fruitful in this matter than has been the case with the B. O. R. Institute, which has appointed its first "Research Fellow" after 25 years of work without any ear-marked scholarship or fellowship. The word of caution was at the same time uttered that Orientalia is such a vast field that specialisation has to be early resorted to : न हि सर्वे सर्वे जानाति, ज्ञातुं प्रभवति वा ।

The third requisite was publications, including a Journal ; and as to this, Dr. Jha sincerely congratulated the B. O. R. Institute for having been entrusted with the administration of the Publication Grant for the Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series. This was a stroke of good fortune: it was tantamount to a permanent endowment of more than 2½ lacs. It is good that the organisers of the G. J. R. Institute have set up this as a definite ideal before them. As an elder sister who has experienced both the shady and the sunny sides of things, the caution may be uttered that the younger Institute should think twice before undertaking, in a moment of sudden inspiration, any extensive work involving large liability, like the B. O. R. Institute's critical edition of the Mahābhārata, which is hanging very heavy upon it all these twenty-five years.

Finally, Dr. Ganganath laid particular emphasis upon the necessity of every worker placing early before him some definite life-objective to which he should resolve to dedicate all his time and energy. "My own ambition has been to translate the standard philosophical and other treatises. I have done much

in that line : more yet remains.¹ I have been dubbed as the mere translator ; I do not mind. When I find a passage particularly difficult, I begin to translate it. My knowledge gains in precision as I advance, and by the time I finish it, I find that my difficulty also has disappeared. ”

The Ganganath Jha Research Institute has, in the name of the scholar after whom it is named, one of the noblest ideals of patient, fruitful scholarship to inspire and guide it in its work in the incoming years. The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute extends to it its cordial welcome, and promises its whole-hearted cooperation in its undertakings. India is a vast country, and Orientalia is a vast and limitless field which can give ample pabulum for half a dozen “ Research ” Institutions. “ Kṛta-kāśita ” is an insidious disease that is likely to make early depredation ; but so long as there is enough work ahead, and willing hearts to carry it on, fired by Ganganath Jha’s spirit and example, the future for the Institute should be well-nigh assured.

18-1-1944

S. K. Belvalkar

¹ This was said 25 years ago. Since then Jha has translated so many important texts that he may be said to have amply fulfilled his life’s ambition.

SOME RARE WORKS IN THE ANUP
SANSKRIT LIBRARY

BY

K. Madhava Krishna Sarma,

Curator, Anup Sanskrit Library

(1) *The Rājaprasānīyanātyapadabhañjikā of Padmasundara*

The Anup Sanskrit Library has one of the best collections of Mss of Jaina literature and is sure to fill in many a gap in our knowledge of some important Jaina authors. One such author is Padmasundara. Aufrecht does not mention him in his Catalogus Catalogorum. He was a contemporary and protégé of Akbar. In his History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, p. 294, Krishnamachariar mentions only two of his works, namely the Rāyamallābhyudaya and the Pārśvanāthakāvya. A third and interesting work of his, namely *Akbarsāhīṣṅgāradarpaṇa was discovered by me in the Anup Sanskrit Library some time ago and a notice of this is in the course of publication in the Karnataka Historical Review, Dharwar. A little later I found in the same Library a fourth work of Padmasundara. It is called Pramāṇasundara. As the title indicates, it deals with the valid means of knowledge. This work proves that the author was not only a poet but also a first rate philosopher. My note on this is in the course of publication in the Jaina Antiquary. I have now found yet another work of this author, namely Rājaprasānīyanātyapadabhañjikā. It is a running commentary on the Jaina work Rājaprasānīya, and as the title indicates, explains some difficult words of the text which have been omitted by a previous commentator.

The Ms contains only two folia of 11½"×5½" with 52 lines of 60 letters each. The last page is blank. The script is Devanāgarī. It is about 300 years old and injured. The gloss is complete. The present number of this in the Library is 9936.

* I have now edited this as No. 1 in the Ganga Oriental Series. The Note is also now published in the J. Antiquary.

It begins:- अथ राजप्रश्नीयटीकाकृता नाट्याधिकारे कतिचित्पदानाम-
व्याख्यानात्तद्याख्या च व्युत्पत्तिमात्रं दर्शयते ।

Ends:- अत्रान्यापि व्युत्पत्तिर्बहुश्रुतैरुच्येया ।
राजप्रश्नीयटीकायामनुक्तं सुरनाटके ।
पदं तद्भक्तिकामात्रं निर्ममे पद्मसुन्दरैः ॥

इति श्रीराजप्रश्नीयनाट्यपदभक्तिका पूर्णा ॥ श्रीः ॥

(2) *Jahāṅgiravinodarātṇākara of Rāya Paramānanda*

This is an astronomical treatise (a *Karṇa*) by Rāya Paramā-
nandarāya, son of Vāsudeva. He was a protégé of Jahangir. The
work is not noticed by Aufrecht. The author says that he wrote
it at the instance of Itbar Khan.

There are 8 leaves of $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$ with 10 lines per page and
40 letters per line. The script is Devanāgarī. The Ms is nearly
300 years old. It was procured in the time of Mahārājā Anup-
singhji whose name is written at the end. It is in good order,
being numbered 4484 in the Library.

Begins:- श्रीसूर्याय नमः ।

जयति तरणिमूर्तिर्विश्वमाभाति यस्मा-
त्कमलमुदयमेति ध्वान्तमायाति नाशम् ।
द्रुहिणहरसुरद्विद्वन्धमानस्त्रिकालं
शशधरमनुघर्षं वर्धयन् पातु चास्मान् ॥ १ ॥
यो बाबरात्मज इति प्रथयस्त्रिजानां
प्रादुर्बभूव वसुधाधिपतिर्हमाकुं ।
सत्कीर्तिमम्बुनिधिमेखलितां धरित्रीं
पूर्वांगितामथ विजित्य रिपून्शशास ॥ २ ॥
तस्यात्मजः समभवन्नुपातिश्चगता-
नाम्ना ह्यकबरवरो वसुधावरश्च ।
गोविप्रदीनसरणौ नृपधर्मगोप्ता
दुष्टान्तकृद्रविपदाञ्जरतिः सुकीर्तिः ॥ ३ ॥

ऐश्वर्यं नाकनाथादमृतमयकरात्कान्तिमम्भोजमित्रा-
न्नेजोराशिं गणेशान्मतिमतिसुरभिकल्पवृक्षाच्च दानम् ।
गाम्भीर्यं वारिराशेर्धनमपि धनदात्सर्वमादाय यत्ना-
च्छ्रीमच्छ्रीनूरदिन्द्रो ह्यकबरतनयो निर्मितः सिद्धिधात्रा ॥ ४ ॥

Ends:—

जलपथवसतिर्यो वासुदेवः पुराभू-
त्सकलगुणानिधानस्तत्सुतो रायशर्मा ।
पिशुनजनदुरापं तोषद् सज्जनानां
व्यरचयदनुमानात्पुस्तकं रत्नकाख्यम् ॥

इति श्रीजहाङ्गीरविनोदरत्नाकरे इतबारखानेन कारिते श्रीज्योतिषराय-
परमानन्दकृतौ परिलेखाधिकारः सप्तमः ॥ पु० महाराजकुंवार श्री ४ अनूप-
सिंहजी रो छे ॥

(3) *The Hanumangarh Fort inscription*

This inscription on a stone of 24"×24" in Persian script and language is found in the Anup Sanskrit Library. It says that the fort was built by Rāya Manohararāya in Hijra 1009 during the reign of Jahangir. Hanumangarh is in Bikaner State.

बादशाहे जहाँ जे फैजे इलाह ।
स्युद जहांगीर नूर अकबर साह ॥ १ ॥
हम जे इकवाल साह लुफे खुदाह ।
राये हिन्दोस्ताँ मनोहर राय ॥ २ ॥
च्युं वेहतर शाख्ता पामाल ।
बूद वायक हजार नो दर शाल ॥ ३ ॥
ताम वद जीह शान दुश्मन होल ।
शाख्त दरवाजाह मनोहर लाल ॥ ४ ॥
वाद अजीह हाकमा वसा कर दंद ।
कू असले आदिल व मरदंद ॥ ५ ॥
जुमला तामीर ईँ मकान वे कुनंद ।
अजीह हरय के निशाँ वे कुनंद ॥ ६ ॥
हरके साजत खराब ईँ बुनियाद ।
शद तला को हजार लानत वाद ॥ ७ ॥

(4) *Bhūiravabhaṭṭopādhyāya's Kannaḍa Vṛtti*
on the Rgvedasarvānukramāṇi

As attested by the names of scribes and owners, a large part of the collection in the Anup Sanskrit Library was brought by Mahārāja Anup Singhji from Deccan which was part of greater Karnāṭaka. The find of a Kannaḍa commentary on the

Rgvedasarvānukramanī in a Library of Upper India need, therefore, occasion no surprise.

The Ms of this consists of 36 folia of 8"×4" with 10 lines in a page and 20 letters in a line. It is in Devanāgarī script and nearly 300 years old. The condition is fairly good. On the obverse of the first folio there is wrongly written :

महाराष्ट्रभाषायां ऋग्वेदानुक्रमणिकाटीका ।

The text is here called Paribhāṣā also. The commentator Bhairavabhaṭṭopādhyāya was the son of Devaṇa of Hārītakula. The commentary begins with a few defective Sanskrit verses. It is a mere paraphrase.

Begins:—" श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

उद्यत्त्वत्पादपद्म श्रोणिस्तूर्यात्प्रभाभिः
संसारागाढगच्छत्प्रवरतिमिरदुतुमच्छ ।
कालिन्दीशश्रवन्ती रुचिरहरिहरा त्वामनन्या ...तं
त्वच्छक्तिः पञ्चमी मां जलधिपरिगतां भूमिनादाविवाया ॥१॥

लम्बोदरं लम्बितचारुहारं
हिरण्यगर्भादिभिरर्च्यमानम् ।
नमामि नूनं तव वाहनस्य
सख्युत्तरं विघ्ननिवारणं स्यात् ॥

इदु गणाधिपतिय मेलणदु ।

या वीतरागेषु विबद्धवासा
सुरप्रवेशैरसुभूषिता शिवा
तां भारतीं न्यक्कृतचन्द्रशोभां
मुखश्रियादिव सिद्धये जगत् ॥ (?)

इदु सरस्वतिय मेलणदु ।

Ends:--मेलणवेष्ट छन्दस्साहेल्लिङ्गी बृहदनुक्रमणिके वचनगलु । इवे-
रदुबगेयागि कन्नडस्थभाष्य संपूर्णवायितु ॥

श्रीसदाशिवापणमस्तु ॥ श्रीकृष्णार्पणमस्तु ॥

“JOHAR ”

By

Narayanrao Babasaheb Ghorpade, Ichalkaranji,

There has appeared in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Silver Jubilee Volume, January 1943, an interesting article by Mr. Powar on the employment of the term ‘Johar’. Thus one more popular belief, viz. that the use of the term ‘Johar’ has been superseded by Ram-Ram, at the command of Shivaji at the instance of Saint Ramdas, is exploded. Some time ago, the belief that the colour of the standard of Shivaji the Great was adopted because of the red-ochre colour of his Guru’s garments, was shown to be incorrect.

The custom of using the word ‘Johar’ by the depressed classes has continued into recent times, and I invite attention to the fact that Ekanath and other ancient Maratha poets have written a number of poems recited in Kathās and Kirtanas, beginning with the phrase ‘Joharji Mayabapa’ ‘जोहारजी मायबापा’ a term of salutation used by these low-caste village servants, when admonishing, in their simple language, the big-wigs of the village, and delivering them a spiritual sermon couched in allegorical terms. These abhangas, also throw a flood of light on the customs, manners and usages of the village people in Maharashtra some three or four hundred years ago. Even at that time, it can be established, that the village Maharas used this form and therefore it would seem that although the term ‘Johar’ fell into disuse and was superseded by the more fashionable phrase ‘Ram-Ram’, the more conservative and the lowly village folk, still retained the old phrase. It may also be noted that in bidding his last adieu, the Shudra Saint Tukaram uses the term ‘Ram-Ram’ in his well-known verse ‘Amhi jato amuchya gava, amucha Ram-Ram ghyawa’ ‘आम्ही जातो आमुच्या गांवा । आमुचा रामराम घ्यावा. It would seem fair to say therefore that even then Higher castes generally employed the term ‘Ram-Ram’ while ‘Johar’ was current amongst the low castes.

In Northern India, the Rajputs and certain of the higher classes use the term ‘Jaya Ramjiki’ जय रामजीकी’, while the Vaishyas and the trading element generally prefer the phrase ‘Jaya Gopal’ ‘जय गोपाळ’, as a mode of salutation. It is, I imagine, doubtful whether the word ‘Johar’ was discarded in the Deccan as a result of a decree issued by Shivaji at the instance of the Saint Ramdas, whose tutelary deity was Ram, but

it is by no means unlikely that in Maharashtra, the impulse to the change in fashion gained weight in Shivaji's time, and that the very high respect in which Ramdas was held, perhaps originated or at least stimulated the process of the change. The present vogue of saying is 'Namaste' 'नमस्ते' or 'Jayadeo' 'जयदेव'. Other familiar words of greeting are 'Kase Kaya' 'कसे काय' or 'How do you do?' or 'How are you?', probably borrowed from the English practice. So also when going on pilgrimages in the Deccan, the present mode is to utter the name of 'Janba Tukaram or Pundalik varda Hari Vithal' 'जानबा तुकाराम। पुंडलीक वरदा हरी विठ्ठल'. But the older style was 'Changbhala' 'चांगभला' and it is still used during pilgrimages to older Maratha gods. This term was, I believe, in universal vogue before the Pandharpur cult took a firm hold on the people, during the Maratha revival period. So also the custom of using 'Belbhandara' 'बेलभंडारा' for the purpose of a solemn oath has been out of date and the Ganges water or the Book of the Gītā has taken its place. But such changes get an impetus at some stage in the history of a country and come to stay and thus 'Johar' is being relegated to the Limbo of forgotten things.

To sum up, the word 'Johar' was used by respectable classes in Hindu Society at the time of Jñāneśvara.¹ It gradually fell into disuse among them but was retained by the lower classes who are more conservative as is evident in Ekanath's songs. That the change was gradual is beyond doubt for three centuries after Jñāneśvara, Tukaram again uses it.² Probably he uses it there to mean an humbler submission than Ram-Ram. The change I infer, must be gradual and was accentuated by the influence of Ramdas who was held in great regard by Shivaji and his followers.

1

मग तैसाची भेणभेण । पुढती जोहारुनी चरण ।

मग म्हणे जी आपण । ऐसे बोलिलेती ॥

Jñāneśvari Chap. XI, 490

2

शेढी बाही आम्हां बास । असो कास घालुनी ॥ १ ॥

बोल बोलो उभयता । स्वामी सत्ता सेवेची ॥ २ ॥

एकसरे आज्ञा केली । असो चाळी ते नीति ॥ ३ ॥

तुका म्हणे जोहारितो । आहे होतो ते ठायी ॥ ४ ॥

Tukaram Gatha Part II, Abhangs 2305

RĀGHAVA-BHAṬṬA AND HIS TITHINIRṆAYA-SĀRODDHĀRA

By

G. V. Devasthali, Nasik

MM. Kane in his monumental work on Dharma-śāstra notices the Nirṇaya-sāra (NS.), the Nirṇayoddhāra (N), [also called the Tithi-nirṇayoddhāra (TN.)] and the Tithi-nirṇaya (T) as three different works.¹ Of these again the last two he ascribes to the same author Rāghava-bhaṭṭa² who according to him is later than 1640 A.D. Of these two again the former namely N. or TN. is according to him later than 1650 A.D.;³ while the latter namely T. is later than 1640.⁴ He also notes that a Ms. of T. is ' copied in Śake 1681 (1766 A.D.) '. Here obviously there is some discrepancy between the dates given by the two eras. The author of NS., however, he seems to distinguish from the author of N. and T. This NS. and its author, Rāghava, he dates later than 1612 A. D. and earlier than 1700 A. D.⁵

In the Bhadkamkar Memorial Collection of Mss. (B. M. C.) presented by Prof. H. D. Velankar to the University Library, Bombay, there are five Mss.⁶ of a work called the Tithi-nirṇaya. From the introductory stanzas⁷ of this work it is quite clear that the name that the author wanted to give to this work is not T. but N. The name TN. and even the name Tithi-nrīṇaya-sāroddhāra (TNS) can find some justification in the first line of the

¹ See Hist. Dh., I, pp. 574a, 575a and 552b.

² See Hist. Dh., I, p. 728a

³ See Hist. Dh., I, p. 575a.

⁴ See Hist. Dh., I, p. 552b.

⁵ See Hist. Dh., I, pp. 574a and 723a.

⁶ B. M. C. 19. 6 ; 3-2 ; 57-12 ; 24-24 ; and 111-4, These I have described in my catalogue (in press) under Nos. 1053-57 respectively.

⁷ स्मृत्यर्थसारहेमाद्रि माधवं निर्णयामृतम् ।

वीक्ष्य निर्णयस्मिन्धुं च स्मृतिदर्पणमावृतात् ॥ १ ॥

निर्णयोवचनः (r. निर्णयोद्वन्वः) सारं मुक्तोद्धारं करोम्यहम् ।

राघवो विदुषां प्रति निर्णयोद्धारनामकम् ॥ २ ॥

second introductory stanza. Thus there is no doubt that T., N., TN., and TNS. are only different names of one and the same work, more popularly called the T. The same can be said about the name NS.; for we do find the words Nirṇaya and Sāra in the stanza referred to above. But fortunately enough we have Ms. evidence to show that NS. also is only another name of T. One of the Mss. in the B. M. C. actually designates this work as NS.¹ and on going through the work we find that the work is the same as T.

The NS. noticed by MM. Kane² also seems to be identical with the work under discussion. For according to his information the author of the NS. 'mentions Rāma-kautuka, Mādhava, Nirṇaya-sindhu, and Hemādri.' But in our Ms., where this work is given the name NS. in the colophon, we find that the author refers to these very authorities in the introductory stanzas.³ Again referring to the introductory stanzas in the other Mss.⁴ that we have, we find that they are identical but for the substitution of Smṛtyartha-sāra for Rāmakautuka. The only other difference noticeable in the stanzas as we find them in these Mss. is that in them we are given the name of the author in the second stanza which we do not find in the other Ms.⁵ But these differences are not enough to justify an attempt to show these as two different works.

Now, therefore, we are in a position to say that NS. is only another name of N. which is also popularly known as T., TN., TNS., or simply N. If this view be justified it will not do to distinguish between the authors of NS. and N. and place one earlier than 1700 and the other presumably earlier than 1766 A. D. An attempt must, therefore, be made to fix the limits for the date of

¹ B. M. C. 3-2 described under No. 1054 of my Catalogue.

² See Hist. Dh. I, p. 574a and 728a.

³ रामकौतुकहेमाद्रिमाधवं निर्णयामृतम् ।
वक्ष्य निर्णयसिन्धुं च स्मृतिदर्पणमादरात् ॥ १ ॥
निर्णयोदन्वतः सारं मुक्तो जानं(?) करोम्यहम् ।
फक्किकामिर्विचित्रामिर्निर्णयोद्धारनामकम् ॥ २ ॥

⁴ See note 7 above on p. 233.

⁵ "राघवो बिदुषां प्रत्ये" is here substituted by 'फक्किकामिर्विचित्रामिः'

this Rāghava and his work which is thus called by various names.

As for the upper limit there can be no doubt, since our author has in no ambiguous terms referred to not only Smṛtyartha-sāra, Hemādri, Mādhava, and Nirṇayāmṛta, but also to the Nirṇaya-sindhu which was composed in 1612 A. D. He has also referred to the Smṛti-darpana which presumably is later than the Nirṇaya-sindhu, but which it is not possible to identify. The work under discussion must, therefore, be later than 1612 A. D. This limit, however, can be pulled down by at least several decades for two considerations. Firstly our author in the very first stanza tells us that he looks upon the Nirṇaya-sindhu along with others with respect. This means that some period must be understood as separating our author and his work on the one hand and the Nirṇaya-sindhu on the other. But more important still is the statement which our author has made in the second stanza.¹ There in clear terms he has told us that he is giving out the gist of the Ocean of Nirṇaya which is only a paraphrase of Nirṇaya-sindhu. If then Rāghava is trying to present to the reader only a summary of the decisions arrived at in the Nirṇaya-sindhu we may feel justified in supposing that this latter work, at the time of the composition of the work under discussion, had attained a high popularity. There would be nothing wrong, therefore, if it is said that our author and his work are separated from the Nirṇaya-sindhu by several decades, or that they must be later than the middle of the 17th century A. D.

The lower limit as stated by MM. Kane in the case of the author of the NS. is 1700. But it is not clear as to how he arrives at this date. The limit for the date of the author of the other works is apparently suggested by him to be 1766 A. D. But even this is rather ambiguous. For he states that a Ms. of the T. is copied in Śake 1681 which he equates with 1766 A. D. There is, therefore, some uncertainty as to which of these is the correct date. But fortunately enough we have in

¹ निर्णयोद्वत् is obviously निर्णयसिन्धु. राघवभट्ट undertakes to make the decisions of the निर्णयसिन्धु easily accessible to his readers. मुक्तद्वार would have been better than मुक्तोद्धारम्.

the B. M. C. a Ms.¹ which is dated Śaka 1681 (c. 1759). If, therefore, the date of copying of a Ms. of the work under discussion is 1759 we may reasonably suppose that the work itself was composed a few years earlier. The lower limit for the date of this work may thus be put down at 1750 approximately.

The results of the above discussion may now be stated in brief as follows:—

i. Nirṇaya-sāra, Nirṇayoddhāra, Tithi-nirṇayoddhāra, Tithi-nirṇaya-sāroddhāra and Tithi-nirṇaya are the different names of one and the same work and not of different works.

ii. It is, therefore, impossible to think of one Rāghavabhaṭṭa as the author of the NS. and another one as the author of the T. and the N.

III. The limits for the date of Rāghavabhaṭṭa and his work are 1650 and 1750. The former is fixed by our author's reference to the Nirṇayasindhu and the fact that the work under discussion is an attempt to present in brief the results arrived at in the Nirṇayasindhu; while the latter is determined on the strength of a Ms. in B. M. C. in the University Library, Bombay which was copied in the year 1681 of the Śaka era.

GĪTĀ AS POST-BUDDHIST

BY

K. M. Bedekar

In A. B. O. R. I. (XXIV pages 99-100) Mr. M. V. Kibe has produced evidence in support of his view that the Gītā is post-Buddhist. The argument is based upon stanzas 32 and 33 of Chap. IX of the Gītā. It is presumed that the *pāpayonayāḥ* mentioned are the women, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras. If stanza 32 is read properly with stanzas 30 and 31 it would appear that the *pāpayonayāḥ* meant are the Sudurācāras mentioned in those stanzas. A Sudurācāra should mean one whose physical actions, because of the social status, are dirty or objectionable, but who is at heart good, whose ācāra is *duṣṭa* or *pāpa* but whose mind is *punya*. In the latter half of stanza 30, such a person is considered good because he is behaving meritoriously. Such a person, a Cāṇḍāla or a Vyādha or the like, if compelled to do dirty actions as a matter of duty, or for the sake of his subsistence, need not necessarily be called bad, if he has a good heart. An instance would be that of the *vyādha* in the *vyūdhasatī saṁvāda*. Such a person who is *pāpayoni* but a *punyaṭmā* becomes a *dharmaṭmā* very soon, and attains bliss, because, says the Lord, his *bhakta* never perishes.

The same theme, from stanzas 30 and 31, is carried over to stanza 32 and here the Lord says that even the *pāpayonayāḥ* who place absolute reliance in him, along with women, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, attain the highest bliss. This should not mean that these latter three are *pāpayonayāḥ*. Women are specially mentioned because they have not, on account of their physical disabilities, the same status in respect of attaining *parāgati*, as men can claim to possess. They are the weaker sex, and cannot therefore expose themselves to the same rigours of tapas as men can do, and can not pass their lives independently and in seclusion *vivikladeśa-sevitvam*. But this does not mean that they are *pāpayonis*. In company with man, the father, the husband, or the son,

the woman may do tapas and attain jñāna, and live the life of righteousness. She is weak, but may not be called wicked.

The vaiśya (*pañih*) is not also a *pāpayoni*. His calling which he must not forsake (*sve sve karmānyabhirataḥ saṁsiddhiṁ labhate naraḥ*) will not help him in doing Tapa or attaining Jñāna, but even then if he resigns himself wholly to the Lord's will, and does his duty assigned to him by the Dharma, he will surely attain the highest bliss (*svakarmaṇā tamabhyarcya siddhiṁ vindati mānavah*). The same may be said of the Sūdra. The Religion which assigns to each Varṇa an honourable place in the Cosmic body of the *Virāṭa puruṣa* will not condemn any member of these Varnas to the grade of *pāpayoni* in the sense in which this word is understood at present. This word should mean a person whose birth or station in life requires him to do a dirty job, as a physical necessity only. Surely the women, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras cannot be included in such a category.

The note further says that in stanza 33 for the *kṣatriya* a necessary qualification is mentioned that he should be a Bhakta. This is wrong. The ordinary *kṣatriya* is not mentioned here. The mention is of the *Rājarsi*. And the qualification of *Bhakta* need not be appropriated to the Kṣatriya or the Rājarsi; it should also go to the Brahman along with the qualification of *punya*. It is thus that *Punya* and the *Bhakta*, Brahman and *Rājarsi*, who can attain the highest bliss, not the Brahman by birth, as is attempted to be suggested in the Note as the view of the Gītā.

MIR KHUSRAW OR FARRUKHFAL

BY

G. H. Khare, Curator B. I. S. Mandala, Poona

In the 1st volume of the Bhāratīya Vidyā (pp. 71-72) is published a note by Rai Krishnadas, the well-known art-critic, philanthropist and the director of the Bhārata Kalābhavana, Benares, in which he has described the paintings of the so called Mir Khusraw with three reproductions of the same: one reclining, the other sitting with his legs crossed and the third standing in profile. After describing the paintings, he has raised the question as to who this Mir Khusraw could be. My society possesses a painting of this very person, whosoever may he be, which is practically identical with the above mentioned reclining figure (No.1). Unfortunately this painting bears neither any inscription nor any other evidence that might have helped us to identify this person. But I describe below five paintings and photographs most probably of this very person which enhance the difficulty in the solution of this question. The details of descriptions are based on my notes taken down in my visits to the respective museums.

(I) Exhibit No.H 205 from the Delhi Fort Museum is a painting in which is depicted a standing person with a corpulent belly and identical with portrait No. 3 of the so called Mir Khusraw mentioned above. It bears in Persian characters the inscription شیر مرزا فرخ فال

(II) Photograph No. C 198/246a from the photo-albums in the same museum. In this is portrayed a person reclining on his big belly and identical with the foregoing reproduction No. 1. It bears the Persian inscription فال فرخ as well as the Nagari inscription सबीह करषफाल आसफखानो बेदो.

(III) Photograph No. C 199/246b from the same album, in which we find a standing figure with a protrudent belly and the Persian inscription شیر فرخ فال بن آصف خان

(IV) Exhibit No. 14436 from the fine arts section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, which has a standing figure in profile with a big belly but without any inscription. It, however, bears the museum label Mirza Farrukhfal.

(V) Exhibit No. 14142/180 from the same section depicts a standing person with a protrudent stomach and bears the Persian inscription شیر میر فرخ فال

Now the question naturally arises as to who this Farrukhfal could be. Māh Chūchūk Begum, a wife of the Mughal emperor Humāyūn bore from him a son who was named Farrukhfal and against whom Akbar, the great, his step-brother, led an expedition. But in two of the five portraits described by me Farrukhfal has been mentioned as the son of Āsafkhān which precludes the possibility of his being the son of Humāyūn also, unless he is supposed to be the Begum's son from her former husband which in its turn presupposes that the Begum was married to some other noble before she became the wife of Humāyūn.

In Ma,athiru'l-umarā are given the lives of four Āsafkhāns viz. (1) Khwāja 'Abdu'l-majīd Āsafkhān Hirwī, (2) Khwāja Ghiyāthu'd-dīn 'Alī Āsafkhān Qazwīnī, (3) Mirzā Qawāmu'd-dīn J'afar Beg Āsafkhān and (4) Āsafkhān Āsafjāhī Yamīnu'd-dawla.¹ But as far as I know, nobody among these four had any son bearing the name Farrukhfal.

Who, therefore, was this Farrukhfal and who that Mīr Khusraw whose portraits are identical? Were they related to each other in any way? Why are their portraits identical? Whom do they really represent and how?

¹ Vol. I, pp. 77, 90, 107, 151.

CULTURAL INDEX OF THE PURĀṆAS

By instituting at the time of its Silver Jubilee, which was celebrated in January 1943, a Fellowship for Indological Research, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute has created another useful field of activity. The first Silver Jubilee Fellowship has been awarded to Dr. A. P. Karmarkar for preparing a *Cultural Index of the Purāṇas* under the supervision of a Board consisting of Rao Bahadur Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Dr. S. M. Katre and Dr. R. N. Dandekar.

It cannot be gainsaid that the Purāṇas are pre-eminently the carriers of cultural traditions of the ancient Indians. The efforts of eminent scholars like Kirfel, Pargiter, Hazra, and others have clearly indicated the fact that the Purāṇas, if carefully explored, are capable of yielding valuable materials both to the archaeologist and to the historian. In fact the Purāṇas have dealt with topics of varied interest e. g. Religion and Philosophy, Polity, Art and Architecture, Astronomy, social and economic institutions, and others.

All the eighteen Purāṇas and some of the Upa-Purāṇas are already published. Dr. Karmarkar has already started his work in this direction. He will certainly have achieved a great thing when he goes through all these works and prepares a systematic Index containing all the topics of Indian culture. The matter may be sifted out in various ways. It is just possible that a piece of myth may contain matter on society, geography, or even on polity. In fact the story of Sāvitrī, while indicating the custom of tree worship, may also show the unflinching devotion which women in ancient India were expected to show towards their husbands. The brief sketches of the doings of Rāma or Kṛṣṇa have at the same time given the details regarding matter of geographical and political interest.

It is hoped that the work shall be carried on with the utmost zeal and energy required for carrying out this heavy task.

REVIEWS

THE EARLY MUSLIM EXPANSION IN SOUTH INDIA,
by N. Venkataramanyya, M.A., Ph.D., Madras University
Historical Series No. 17. Pages 216 + vi. 1942

Under the very able general editorship of Professor K. A. Nilkanta Sastri, the University of Madras has in recent years produced several valuable works, among others, bearing on the medieval history of South India. The monograph under notice, by Dr. Venkataramanyya (Reader in Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras), is an invaluable addition to the series that already includes solid contributions to the study of Hindu and Muslim history of the South. Apart from Source-books such as Sewell's *Historical Inscriptions of S. India* (1932) and Prof. Sastri's *Foreign Notices of S. India* (1939), among its recent publications are Dr. Venkataramanyya's *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagar* (1935) and *Velugotuvuri Vamsavali* (1939). Readers of S. Indian history, while congratulating Dr. Ramanyya on his excellent treatment of his theme, will also feel thankful to him for the fresh and authentic light he has shed on a very critical and momentous period of the history of the peninsula. Though the writer's purpose is to investigate the circumstances under which the great Hindu empire of Vijayanagara came to be established, his material covers a wider field including the Deccan. From this point of view the value of the work is considerably augmented. Though he has drawn copiously from the Muslim contemporary sources, such as Amir Khūsrau, Barṇī, Iṣāmy, etc., he has ignored neither epigraphic evidence nor the Telugu and Kannaḍa materials. His citation, in the foot-notes, of excerpts from the original texts in their respective languages is very much to be appreciated for the convenience it affords for immediate verification. The treatment is both rigorously scientific and matter-of-fact, in keeping with the principles enunciated by the general editor whose *Historical Method in Relation to Problems of S. Indian History* was reviewed in the last number of the *Annals*.

The book is divided into eight chapters successively dealing with the four Hindu Kingdoms (Sēūnas, Kākatīyas, Hoysalas, and Pāṇdyas), the Khaljis, the Tughlaks, their Administrative Arrangements, the movements for Liberation, and the New Kingdoms (Hindu and Muslim). The work has a good Index, but neither a Map nor a Bibliography. These latter appertainances should be considered indispensable in works of this character. The conclusions drawn by Dr. Ramanyya are sober and suggestive though there may be room for differences of opinion.

S. R. Sharma

ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN HISTORY AND
INDOLOGY, Vol. II for 1939. edited, by Brag A.
Fernandes, Bombay Historical Society, Bombay, 1941,
Price Rs. 5

The Editor has spared no pains in bringing out this interesting volume which deals with all the aspects of Indian History and Indology. Especially the brief notes, that are added below the main article or work, are of immense importance. As the editor expresses his desire, all the Institutions devoted to Oriental Studies, learned societies, authors and publishers shall supply him with their publications, so that it would be possible for him to bring out more up-to-date volumes in future.

A. P. K.

A GLOSSARY OF PHILOSOPHICAL TERMS (Sanskrit-
English) by Shankar Rau, M.A., Sri Veṅkaṭeśvara Oriental
Series, No. 3. Madras, 1941. Pp. viii + 88. Price Rs. 3 or
4s. 6d.

Having been drawn from works dealing with all the systems of Indian Philosophy, the glossary will be found useful to all those who are interested in the field of Indian Philosophy.

A. P. K.

ĪŚĀVĀSYOPANIṢAD-BHĀṢYA OF ŚRĪ VEṆKĀTANĀTHA, edited and translated by Dr. K. C. Varadachari, M.A., Ph.D., and D. T. Tatacharya, Esq., Śiromaṇi, M.O.L., Sri Venkateśvara Oriental Series, No. 5. Tirupati, 1942. Price Rs. 2

Veṅkaṭanātha (1268-1369 A. D.) was a lineal descendant of a personal disciple of Śrī Rāmānuja through his father. He was a famous follower of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school. Among his many other excellent productions, is his commentary on the Īśāvāsyopaniṣad of the Kāṇva school. The Editors have given an excellent introduction, a correct text and translation.

A. P. K.

SAMŪRTĀRCANĀDHĪKARAṆA (ĀTRI-SĀMHITĀ), edited by P. Raghunāthachakravarti Bhattacharya, Esq., Vaikhānasa Āgama and Sāhitya Paṇḍit, and Prof. Rāmākrishna Kavi, M.A., Śrī Venkateśvara Oriental Series, No. 6. Tirupati, 1943. Pp. xv + 560 + 12. Price Rs. 8

The Śrī Venkateśvara Oriental Research Institute has been doing, among other things, a unique service by publishing the rarer and still unpublished manuscripts of Oriental texts. The present treatise on *samūrtārcanā* according to Vaikhānasa conceptions, treats with the subject in six sections, viz., Karṣaṇa, Pratiṣṭhā, Pūjā, Snapanā, Utsava and Prāyascitta'. The work is of immense importance to both the architect and student of ancient Indian culture.

A. P. K.

ŚRĪ RĀMĀNUJACAMPŪ of Rāmānujācārya, with commentary by Paṇḍit V. Krishnamacharya, edited with Introduction by Prof. P. P. Subrahmanya Sastriyar, B.A. (Oxon), M.A. (Madras), *Bhūratākālānidhī Vidyāsāgara Vidyāvācaspati*. Madras Government Oriental Manuscript Series, No. 6. Madras, 1942. Pp. xx + 208. Price Rs. 3

The present work, which is published for the first time, is a historical biography of the 'great Vedānta teacher Śrī Rāmānuja

(A. D. 1017 to 1137)'. Though there are other works like the *Yatirājavaibhavam*, the *Yatirājaspati* and the *Yatirājavimśati* written in connection with the biography of Rāmānuja, still, as the Editor says it, the *Rāmānujacampū* is 'the first great systematic biography with all historical incidents in their full detail in Kāvya style in Sanskrit'. Without entering into the other details, we may say, that the present work throws a new light on the life and doings of the great Ācārya. The Editor is to be congratulated upon bringing out this most important work, which would probably be ransacked by all those scholars who are interested in the field of Indian philosophy.

A. P. K.

VEDĀNTA-PARIBHĀṢĀ., edited with an English Translation by Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, M.A., B.Sc. (Oxon), Bar-at-Law, Adyar Library Series No. 34. Adyar, 1942. Pp. XL + 218. Price Rs. 2-12

All students of Indian philosophy in general and scholars in particular will find this work, which contains the Sanskrit text, introduction, and an accurate English translation and notes, to be of immense importance.

A. P. K.

THE BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀ AND MODERN SCHOLARSHIP
by S. C. Roy, M.A. (London), I.E.S. Luzac and Co.,
London, 1941. Pp. XLVIII + 263, Price: paper cover,
Rs. 7-6; cloth bound, Rs. 10-6

'Once more the Bhagavad-Gītā', as Dr. Betty Heimann says it in the Preface. The author in his 'Apology' asserts that, 'the present volume is the first attempt at a comprehensive and systematic review of the results of researches on the Gītā and the Epic Mahābhārata, made during the last three-quarters of a century by such competent scholars of the West as Max Müller, Hopkins, Barth, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Weber, Holtzmann, Dahlmann,

Schraeder, Deussen, Garbe, Winternitz, Macnicol and others, as well as eminent Indian Scholars like Bhandarkar, Bankimchandra, Telang, Tilak, Subba Rao, Vaidya and others.' The work is divided into three Parts and twelve chapters: Part I deals with the theories of interpolation in the Gītā; Part II deals with the general relation of the Gītā and the Great Epic of India; and Part III gives a survey of the inter-relation between the Gītā and the Bhāgavata religion.

The Gītā has assumed a unique place in the history of Indian literature. This is much more so on account of the fact that it forms part of the Prasthāna-trayī-with the aid of which alone the various Ācāryas have enunciated their philosophical tenets.

In our opinion, the Indus valley discoveries should throw light on the problem of the development of Indian philosophy also. As the various representations show it, the Indus Valley people seem to have been theistic in their philosophical notions. The various representations of Śiva and his devotees, and all that is contained in the inscriptions, indicate the existence and vogue of the doctrine of Monotheism. Further, as we have observed it elsewhere, the Ābhīras also were one of the early Dravidian tribes, who must have followed this doctrine.

Immediately after the immigration of the Aryans in India, we find that a regular fusion of the races and their culture begins to take place. And in our opinion the end of the Upaniṣadic period marks the age of the perfect mixing up of these races even culturally. By this time the Aryans imbibed and assimilated into their own religion all that was best in the culture of the Dravidians-and the perfect outcome of which is the Gītā. The first attempt towards the Brahmanization of the theistic doctrine of the Dravidians seems to have been made in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*. The welding together of the various elements of the Sāṅkhya and the Yoga, Māyā, God as Bhagavat, the theistic Rudra and the pantheistic Brahman, is made for the first time in the above work. Eventually the author of the Gītā went one step further and placed before us the logical outcome of the philosophical tendency that was in vogue in his time. The unique feature of the Gītā is that it happens to be

both a moral code and a handbook of philosophy of the Indians. The system of the Cāturvarṇya, the four Āśramas, the Sāṅkhya and the Yoga, the theistic Kṛṣṇa and the pantheistic Brahman, the subordination of Rudra and other Gods to Viṣṇu—a deity of the Vedic pantheon, and a regular call to follow the *Dharma* preached in his work rather than any other, all these indicate the outcome of a mind which wanted to rise above—above a plane already occupied by the best of the Dravidian thinkers in India. The Buddhistic and Jain doctrines also must have been a product of this age, they perhaps acting as a direct revolt against this tendency of the Brahmins.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has specifically shown the various stages of the development of Vaiṣṇavism. And if we just add to it the element of the gradual process of the Aryanization of the Dravidian doctrine of Monotheism, then the solution of the problems regarding the following problems would become easier: the theistic and the pantheistic, the relation of the *Gītā* with the *Mahābhārata*, the probable interpolations in the *Gītā* on the ground of the theistic and the pantheistic elements contained in it, the place of the *Gītā* in the *Bhāgavata* religion, and the inter-relation of the *Gītā* and the *Brahma-sūtras* respectively.

The author of the present volume has taken a comprehensive survey of the work done by the various scholars up-till now. Especially the portions dealing with the refutation of Garbe's theory, the *Nārāyaṇīya* section, the relation of the *Gītā* with the *Brahma-sūtras*, the *Gītā* and *Bhāgavatism*, and others, are of an outstanding interest. One would naturally wait for his proposed next publication in the same connection.

A. P. K.

KĀLIDĀSA, A STUDY, by Prof. G. C. Jhala, M.A., Padma Publications, Bombay, 1943, pp. 178, Price Rs. 3-4

Prof. Ryder has of old already paid a foreigner's tribute to the genius of our national poet in his very elegantly written book in the Everyman's Series. Prof. Jhala's study is an Indian's approach to the poet, breathing the worshipful admiration in which the poet is universally held by generations of the *elite* in the land of his birth. And the worship we thus offer is not mere blind adoration, not mere partisan fervour, but is grounded in reason, fortified and reinforced by the judgment of critics and poets of great eminence from East and West. Laborious without being laboured, scholarly and well-informed without being pedantic, Prof. Jhala's book appeals to the general reader as well as to the scholar. The problem of the poet's date is discussed at the outset, and the traditional view that the poet lived at the court of king Vikrama of the 1st century B. C. is upheld against the rival Gupta theory, by demonstrating that there did live before the dawn of the Christian era a king of that name despite the lack of any literary, epigraphic or numismatic evidence. Next comes an appreciation of his life and character, followed by two chapters in which his poems and dramas are critically studied. Last of all, the author studies the poet's conception of love, which runs as the one unifying *môtif* through all his works. It is in this final synthesis of the poet's work that Prof. Jhala shows his originality, and the study assumes a purposefulness which lifts it from the mere critical to the creative sphere.

C. R. Devadhar

SCULPTURE INSPIRED BY KĀLIDĀSA, C. Sivaramamurti, M.A., with a Foreword by the Rt. Hon'ble M. R. Jayakar, M.A., LL.D., D.C.C., P.C., the Samskr̥ta Academy Madras, 1942, pp. xxii+58, Price Rs. 2.

In his small brochure on "Sculpture inspired by Kālidāsa" Mr. C. Shivaramamurti tries to illumine many a text from Kālidāsa's works by sketches of sculptured and painted figures in many rock-cut temples and caves, and it is astonish-

ing to find how close is the parallelism between the poetry in word and the poetry in stone and pigment. But "it" is perhaps a more true theory to hold that the sculptures reproduced in this treatise are only instances of an unintentional parallelism rather than that they represent a deliberate design to reproduce Kālidāsa's ideas in rock and stone." This furnishes a remarkable illustration of the universal truth of the unity of all arts whatever the medium of expression. The author deserves our warm congratulations on his opening up a new vista in the field of our study of the Classics, which is sure to lead us to a more vivid appreciation of their manifold beauty and charm.

C. R. Devadhar

AN INTRODUCTION TO CLASSICAL SANSKRIT, by G. B. Sastri, M.A., Modern Book Agency, Calcutta, 1943, pp. 237 + xxvii, Price Rs. 2

The merit of Mr. Gaurinath Bhattacharya Shastri's hurried survey "An Introduction to Classical Sanskrit" of the entire field of Sanskrit Literature lies in its power to enkindle the curiosity of the earnest student of classical literature who will find, in the select bibliography on each topic, ample scope for enlarging his knowledge and getting a firm grip on the particular topic which may be of interest to him. The book is necessarily sketchy as it aims in less than 250 pages at dealing with over twenty-two branches of Sanskritic studies, and it may perhaps be objected that the title is a misnomer, since it assumes that whatever is written in Sanskrit whether Algebra, Astrology, or Astronomy, all the abstruse sciences under the sun, is literature. However, the tradition of Sanskritic studies is in favour of including all these subjects under classical literature, and the book under review is an excellent guide to a proper study of that literature.

C. R. Devadhar

SOME CONCEPTS OF ALAṂKĀRA ŚĀSTRA, by V.
Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D., Adyar Library, Adyar, 1942,
pp. 312, Price Rs. 4

In "Some Concepts of the Alaṁkāraśāstra," Dr. Raghavan has laid under contribution all available Alaṁkāra works—both in print and manuscripts, and has traced the growth and evolution of each concept in a very lucid and convincing manner. The treatment is historical, and the various stages in the evolution of a concept have been thoroughly investigated and correlated in the general scheme of Aesthetics. Dr. Raghavan impresses us with his easy mastery of the subject, although behind every sentence he writes, "one feels the weight of an unseen shelf of books." His study demonstrates how already in the early centuries of the Christian Era, literary criticism in India had evolved those universal principles of Aesthetic evaluation which find their echo in the laborious attempts of modern European Critics. It is a very refreshing and original contribution to the subject, and the author's claim that some of the topics form the first exhaustive study of them is amply justified.

C. R. Devadhar

KĀVYAPRAKĀŚA Ullāsa X, by S. S. Sukthankar, M.A.,
Karnatak Puulishing House, Bōmbay, 1941, pp. xv+
244+44+375, Price Rs. 4-4

The Kāvya-Prakāśa of Mammāṭa, Ullāsa X, edited by Prof. S. S. Sukthankar together with five Sanskrit commentaries, two of which the Sāṅketa of Rucaka (Ruyyaka) and the Bālacittānurañjanī of Narahari Sarasvatīrtha are for the first time brought to light, is a very valuable edition of that much edited text-book. It is accompanied by an Introduction, translation and notes, the last of which are very critical and to the point, and attempt more to elucidate the view of the author and explain his standpoint rather than rush impatiently into an indiscriminate and unhistorical fault-finding in a work whose weight and authority have inspired a mass of exegetical literature comparable to the work which Shakespeare or Milton has inspired in the west.

C. R. Devadhar

RASAGĀṄGĀDHARA with the commentary of Nagesa Bhaṭṭa and commentary named Saralā of Mathuranath Śāstri, edited by Mm. Pandit Dugaprasad and published by Niraya Sagar Press, Bombay, pp. 56 + 715, Price Rs. 4.

"The Rasagāṅgādhara" published by the Nirnaya Sagara Press is a thoroughly revised edition of that text, wherein many of the faults of the previous edition have been removed, a new commentary is added which, unlike the so-called commentaries, really helps to elucidate rather than obscure the difficulties of the text. It will prove of very great use to scholars, who have hitherto struggled with the text unaided, or with the doubtful aid of the very learned but difficult commentary of Nāgojibhaṭṭa.

C. R. Devadhar

"THE DOCTRINE OF KARMAN IN JAIN PHILOSOPHY"—by Dr. Helmuth Von Glassenapp, translated from the original German by Mr. G. Barry Gifford, and revised by the author: Edited by Prof. H. R. Kapadia, M.A., and published by the Trustees, Bai Vijibai Jivanlal Panalal Charity Fund, Bombay, 1942; Price Rs. 2/8

Here we have a very neat and handy treatise on the Doctrine of Karman by Dr. Glassenapp, who has already given an exhaustive survey of Jainism (Der Jainismus) in German. The Law of Karman is one of the cardinal principles on which the Jain metaphysics is based. In fact next to the doctrine of Ahimsā, Jainism lays the greatest stress on this doctrine. True, we come across many passages in Brahmanical Literature where this doctrine is propounded, as e.g. कर्मद्विगो गच्छति जीव एकः; but then they are also contradicted by others where we are told that Fate, or Personal God is all in all. According to Jainism, the Law of Karman is inexorable and knows no exception. Whatever you do, you cannot escape the fruit of

your Karman. But that does not, at the same time mean that there is no scope for effort or Free Will. The contact of karman particles with the soul is regarded as Anādi, but it can be terminated by the soul if it makes effort in the right direction.

The author has mainly based this treatise on the five Karma-granthas, Pañcasamgraha, and Karma-prakṛti. This is, therefore, the first work of its kind, which deals with this subject in such a thorough manner. We have a work on 'Karma Philosophy' in English, by Mr. Virchand Gandhi but it does not enter into the technical details. The Jain writers are noted for their fondness for division, and thus we get 'Karman' divided into various subdivisions. Naturally, the work becomes less and less interesting and the author is, therefore, to be congratulated upon his patience as well as labour in putting together so neatly such dry matter, and particularly upon his pioneer efforts. The trustees and the Chairman of the above Charities also deserve our warmest thanks and gratitude for having undertaken the publication of such a work in these hard times. Let us hope that the enlightened Trustees of the above charities will undertake more and more such works, especially a Series of Critical Editions of Jain Āgamas, on lines similar to the Pāli Text Society.

There have crept in a few 'Germanisms' in the translation. They are, of course, very minor and can be easily understood. But one wonders, how they escaped the scrutiny of the learned Editor.

N. V. Vaidya

AKARĀ HANUMANTĀŚĪ HITAGUJA (Marathi) by S. K. Phadke, published by K. B. Dhavle, Girgaum, Bombay, Price Rs. 4/-

The author of this voluminous work has to his credit a number of books dealing with the various religious systems and movements in India. He has treated them historically and examined them from the doctrinal and practical points of view. The present work which covers about 900 pages is an exhaustive and 'intimate study' of the great Deity Hanumanta in 'eleven forms'. It consists of two parts of which the first describes the nature of Hanumanta and the second the different ways of knowing his nature. Each of the eleven chapters in which the volume is divided contains eleven sections; and they give a detailed account of eleven Marutis. The number 'eleven' has, for the author, a mystical significance. He believes that Hanumanta is an intermediary between Jīva and Śīva, and that devotion to him helps the Sādhaka in his spiritual life. The author is a man of faith and devotion, and he has come in contact with men of high spiritual experience. His writings reveal not only learning and industry but also ardent devotion to God. The author has spared no pains in collecting material bearing directly or indirectly on his subject from every available source. His volume is indeed encyclopædic in character and it will be found indispensable by students of the subject. It bristles with quotations from the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavadgītā, from the writings of the great saints of India, and also from the books of many modern writers. Some of these quotations are in themselves beautiful and illuminating and they serve like a beacon light for the Sādhaka in his spiritual progress. Religion is not accumulation of learning but illumination of spirit. It is realisation of god through proper discipline and Upāsana. From that point of view the volume may prove useful to many readers.

This is a short notice of a big volume; and the writer of this notice regrets that he has not found it possible to contribute a longer and a more critical review which the volume undoubtedly deserves. He however hopes that the author's labour will be amply rewarded by an adequate response from the reading public of Mahārāṣṭra.

N. G. Damle

DANḌANĪTIPRAKARAṆAM (or Criminal Jurisprudence)

of Keśava Paṇḍita (XVIIth century) edited by V. S. Bendre, Lele's Bungalow, Poona 4, 1943 (B. I. S. Mandal, Poona, Svīya-Granthamālā, No. 59) pp. 76+64; Size :- 5½" × 8½"

The editor of the work under review is one of those silent but serious students of Indian history and chronology in general and of Maratha history in particular, who have been labouring hard during the last quarter of a century not in writing text-books on history but in studying the known sources of history and at the same time discovering unknown sources and making them available to brother-researchers in the field. As many of the works published by the present editor are in Marathi they are not much known to readers outside Mahārāṣṭra. I shall, therefore, mention a few of them for the information of students of history outside Mahārāṣṭra. Mr. Bendre's *Sādhana-Cikitsā* (Marathi) is an admirable exposition of the sources of history and the manner and method to be followed by a student of history in dealing with these sources. His *Tarikh-i-Ilahi* (English) fully explains Emperor Akbar's Divine Era and records tables of correspondence, which are very useful for the students of the history of the reigns of Akbar and Jehangir. The *Qutbshāhī of Golcondah* (Marathi-English) published by Mr. Bendre is a scholarly and competent sketch of the history of this dynasty, fully illustrating the author's passion for meticulous accuracy in recording facts and interpreting them in plain unvarnished language. The *Rājārāma-Caritam* of Keśava Paṇḍita edited by Mr. Bendre is an account of Chatrapati Rajarama's journey to Jingee recorded in the form of a poem by Keśava Paṇḍita, his protege, who is also the author of the *Danḍanītiprakaraṇa* under review. In 1938 Mr. Bendre went to England as Bombay Government Research Scholar and after a year's stay there he has brought back to India a representative collection of microfilms of sources of Indian history and other materials bearing on this subject available there. This material

needs to be fully exploited for the benefit of the researchers in Indian history after the completion of the present world war.

For a correct understanding of the dynastic history of a period we must have a detailed knowledge of the entire web of culture in which kings and potentates struggled for supremacy. To the modern readers this web has remained almost invisible for want of contemporary evidence sufficient to illuminate its broken threads and consequently the so-called history of a period is an assorted jumble of antiquarian remains not *in situ* but displayed piece-meal in the shop of the historian, the great magician of the modern world, who at times tells absorbing stories about these remains on the strength of his constructive imagination. These stories may make good reading but owing to the ardent desire of the artist to create living persons out of some bones, complete or fragmentary we get successive pictures of the same period of history. No genuine lover of historical research finds satisfaction in these coloured views of history for he is thirsting for new facts of history and not after garbled or coloured accounts of persons or events based on a grain of truth and bushels of imaginative rubbish.

Objectivity in the presentation of historical material can alone advance the cause of historical research and the greater the degree of objectivity attained by a scholar in his writings the more correct and factual stands his presentation of historical material. Mr. Bendre has tried to maintain this element of objectivity in all his writings so far and hence they are very useful to the students of historical research.

Without plenty of sources bearing on a specific problem or field of history it is impossible to reconstruct any history pertaining to this problem or field. Mr. Bendre has accordingly utilised every moment of his leisure in gathering new sources of history and though not destined to be a professor of history he has given a more satisfactory account of his own life than many of his friends more fortunately circumstanced and enjoying more leisure and ease for their research work. His edition of the *Dandānītiprakaraṇam* of Keśava Paṇḍita with its masterly Critical Introduction fully illustrates my remarks about Mr. Bendre's methodical studies, as Mr. Bendre puts this work in its

proper historical perspective by giving us all available information about its Mss, its date of composition and an elaborate account of the life of the author, his professional activities, his contact with three royal patrons, Shivaji the Great, and his sons Sambhaji and Rajaram. Besides this valuable material Mr. Bendre paints the back-ground of this author's life by his chapter on the Mahārāṣṭra of the Śiwaśāhi period in Political Economical, Social and Religious aspects, together with other allied matter.

There was a time when the historians ignorant of the sources of Maratha history described Shivāji the Great as a mountain rat and his son Sambhāji as a mere voluptuary but the recent discoveries of literary works like the *Rūdhāmādhava-Vilāsa-Campū*, the *Śivabhārata*, the *Rājavyavahārakośa*, the *Budhabhūṣaṇa*, the *Sambhurūjacarita*, the *Haihayendracarita*, the *Rājārāmacarita* and the *Daṇḍanītiprakaraṇam* fully illustrate the administrative and cultural advance fostered by the great Maratha Kings while they busied themselves in intrepid struggles and heroic conquests for the establishment of their political and territorial supremacy in India.

In our appreciation of the heroic achievements of Shivaji the Great on the battle-field and the brandishing of his Bhavani Sword in the hills and dales of the Mahārāṣṭra against all foreign encroachments, we are likely to forget his capacities as a rigid though diplomatic administrator illustrated by Kālidāsa's verse "न खरो न च भूयसा मृदुः पवमानः पृथिवीरुहानिव । स पुरस्कृतमध्यमक्रमो नमयामास नृपाननुद्धरन् ।". The manual of criminal jurisprudence or *Daṇḍanītiprakaraṇam* as also the various decisions given by Shivāji's court in religious disputes will, however, convince us about his efforts and achievements in the matter of sound administration with the help of learned Paṇḍitas like Keśava-bhaṭa, Gāgābhaṭa and others. These efforts fostered in no small way the national spirit on the right lines, so necessary for the solidarity of his rule.

According to Mr. Bendre Keśava's *Nītimañjarī* and his still greater work *Dharmakalpalatā* are yet to be discovered. His *Rājārāmacarita* was composed in A. D. 1691 while the *Daṇḍanītiprakaraṇam* appears to have been composed "sometime between

20th July 1680 and 18th March 1683." The life-period of Keśava's father Dāmodara is fixed by Mr. Bendre between A. D. 1590 and 1664. Keśava's early life and attainments are unknown. His wife's name was Annapūrṇā and "she survived him till after 18th March 1725." He visited Benares sometime before A. D. 1674 in order to secure the sanction of Benares Paṇḍitas like Gāgābhāṭa to the coronation of Shivāji. He was with Rājārāma in his journey to Jingee in 1689 A. D. and he stayed in Rājārāma's Camp in Karnāṭaka till after 12th May 1694. According to the evidence analysed by Mr. Bendre in detail Keśava's death took place "sometime between May 1694 and August 1703." All this chronology enables us to assign Keśava to the period c. A. D. 1630 and 1700 or so. By his family profession Keśava was Rājapurohita or Purohita. This Purohita family of Karhāḍe Brahmans of Kauśika Gotra were also practising Upādhyāya vṛtti, as vouched by a nivādāpatra of A. D. 1600. Keśava himself is styled as "Upādhyāya" in the *Śyṇavijātinirṇaya* arrived at Rajapur by an assembly of local and Benares Paṇḍitas in A. D. 1664. These facts show that Keśava had attained a respectable status in society by this time and that this status enabled him to maintain his contact with his three successive royal patrons for more than 30 years of the latter part of his life. Such in brief are the life and activities of Keśavabhāṭa Purohita, a native of Purye near Sakharpa in the Sangameshwar Taluka of the Ratnagiri District.

In conclusion let me congratulate Mr. Bendre for his painstaking scholarly edition of the *Daṇḍanītiprakaraṇam* and also the authorities of the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁshodhaka Maṇḍala, Poona, for publishing it in their own Series, which has already laid the solid foundation of historical research in Mahārāṣṭra, on which younger scholars can walk with a confident step and contribute their mite to the future reconstruction of the edifice of Indian history on strictly scientific lines.

P. K. Gode

THE NAYAKS OF TANJORE, by V. Vriddhagirisan, M.A.,
M. Litt., L.T., edited by Rao Bahadur Prof. C. S. Srinivasa-
chariar, M.A., Annamalai University Historical Series
No. 3, Annamalainagar, 1942, pp. xv ; 179+44, a map.

This new work on the Nayaks of Tanjore supplies a much felt want in South Indian History. Ever since the publication of a source book of Vijayanagar History by Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, the world of scholars unacquainted with the South Indian languages was looking forward to such studies based on the material pointed out in that source book. This volume fills in one gap in the detailed history of South India. Still it cannot be taken as a complete history of those times pertaining to Tanjore, because the material on which it is mainly based is literary and epigraphic, which naturally circumscribes the field to certain personal and social topics. In fact, local political material of the right type is still a desideratum in South Indian history with the result that this history smacks of early and mediaeval times. However, within its own compass it gives all the available information culled from those sources. How far poems and plates represent the real condition of affairs, how far the opinions on personalities expressed therein are to be taken as correct and how far the superlative tones and superfluous adjectives smelling of fulsome eulogy are to be treated as displaying the correct degree of virtues, must always form a moot point in historiographical procedure. There are poets and poets, some writing like the Shiva Bhārata of Paramānanda a minutely correct contemporary history and others indulging in imaginative flights having nothing to do with history proper. Where there are other possible sources for checking the truth in these literary sources, the truth may be ultimately found out in some manner. Otherwise it must be treated as only a stop-gap of history.

It is not possible in this small notice to say much of the contents. But Tanjore forms a glorious part of Maratha history, in the 17th and 18th centuries. In fact, the small Tanjore

Principality represents the ideals of Shivaji's Maratha State better than its original in the Maharashtra country itself. A wrong impression of the aims of the Maratha State has been formed from its actual working in the 18th century. But what the sons of Shahaji intended is correctly represented by the Tanjore activities. We are happy to note that Mr. Vridhdagirisani has very fairly pointed this out in this study of the earlier times. He quotes with approval, " And the change of rule from the Nayaks to the Marathas did not, as is usual with alien invasions, produce any serious unsettlement in the existing social and other conditions of the people of the land. Military successes have always meant a full stop, for a temporary period at any rate, of all lines of progress, particularly in *belles lettres*, art and other non-political activities of the vanquished. This was never the case with Tanjore ; and the Maratha rulers seem to have been greater and more enthusiastic patrons of literature and art than their predecessors." (p. 7). As expressed in this quotation, Shivaji never intended his Marathas to live as aliens in other lands. He wished the Government to live in the traditions of its localities never cutting asunder the stream of centuries of earlier progress these had achieved. The main original ideal of Shivaji's State was nurtured in the best traditions of the old Hindu Kingdoms particularly that of Vijayanagar, a fact we have pointed out in an essay we contributed to the " Vijayanagar sex-centenary Commemoration Volume " in 1936. The state is meant and exists for the fulfilment of the ideals of the people. Shivaji's father Shahaji from Bangalore and his half-brother Venkoji or Ekoji from Tanjore tried to fulfil this role of the state to the best of their ability. For resuscitating and continuing the best in the Hindu life the Maratha State had come into existence. Ekoji ended the weak Nayak Rule in Tanjore no doubt, but " He restored peace and order and tried to make amends for the defect in his title by increasing the material welfare of his subjects. Fr. Andre Freire adds (in his letter dated 1676) that ' justice and wisdom of his government begin to heal the wounds of the preceding reign and develop the natural resources of this country..... ' " (p. 165). Martin, the French Governor of Pondicherry, has expressed similar opinion

about the lands occupied by Shivāji at that very time, in the same area. Marathi Drama began its career in Tanjore and not-
 be it noted-in Maharashtra, a proof to the cultural superiority of the south in those days due to the rich heritage of Vijayanagar Rule. Before ending this short review we take the opportunity-
 to point out one small deficiency in the use of original material. The author seems to have missed the Dutch Dagh-register in his treatment of Shahaji's invasion of Tanjore and his relations with Madura. Had he consulted this source, more light would have been thrown on the part of Lingam Nāyak of Vellore and Antaji Pantole, the Diwan of Ambarkhan of Gingee, in the South Indian affairs. Finally we strongly recommend this volume to the students of Maratha history in particular as it will supply a proper back ground to the later Maratha activities in that quarter. The general get up of the book, its faultless printing, its arrangement, its appendix of inscriptions chronologically arranged and exhaustive index of 44 pages with a map at the end, leaves nothing to be desired in the art of book-making.

T. S. S.

THE SPIRIT OF GĪTĀ—by Santokh Singh, B.A., Diwan Bahadur, Sikar, Jaipur.

This is an effort to present the philosophy of the Gītā, in a systematic form and the learned author has it to his credit that his effort has been successful. The 'Foreword' contains a long list of the different works connected with the Gītā, and a glance at this last would show that the list is exhaustive and includes both the ancient ācāryas and modern thinkers.

The actual thesis is divided into ten chapters and the system is well elaborated under appropriate headings. The first chapter "Dharmakṣetra" gives, in brief, the story of the quarrel between Pāṇḍava and Kaurava brothers, which is 'the back ground of Bhagavadgītā,' according to the author. The next chapter reveals to us Lord Kṛṣṇa, the supreme God-head, while the third called 'Arjuna's trial' explains, the अर्जुनविषादयोग. The

chapter about the 'Great Secret' gives us what in the Gītā is called राजयुध्य, ज्ञानानां ज्ञानमुत्तमं, परमं युध्यं, इदं न युध्यतमं etc. viz. "the Supreme Lord abides in and above all. He is the main spring of our actions. Meditate on Him and listen to His voice, before you act. At all times, seek only His shelter (p. 15). In explaining the Viśvarūpa in the next, 6th chapter, the author gives "the four principles or postulates, which are taken for granted, in one form or the other, in almost all systems of philosophy," and states in the details, what the Gītā has to say about each of these principles. This is, aptly enough, the largest chapter and forms, as it were, the nucleus of the author's thesis.

In treating of "the Jivātmā or the Human Soul," the next chapter, the author states how the dual spirit—the soul and the supreme Lord dwell together, quoting the famous dualistic mantra द्रष्टव्यं, as also the different activities—physical and mental—of the Jivātmā, and finally says that "the Lord is the Supreme Goal" (p. 104). Naturally, the way to approach this Lord, is given in the next chapter, as 'a course of rigid self-discipline,' which of course, may be given a general name of Yoga, comprehensive of the different systems which one may follow according to one's taste and power. 'The first lesson' is, in this connection, that 'Divine Grace makes one's effort or Yoga sovereign and therefore complete.' ज्ञान, भक्ति and कर्म are said to be the three requisites of this Yoga, and these are subsequently explained in terms of the Bhagavadgītā. In treating of the Divine Grace in the last chapter, we have Arjuna's prayer given in the 11th Adhyāya of the Gītā, which is addressed to the Lord when He revealed His विश्वरूप.

The whole book is instructive, in as much as, it gives in a good form, the whole teaching of the Gītā, and we are sure the book would be a welcome addition to the library of any serious student of the Gītā.

S. N. Tadpatrikar

KHULĀṢATU'T-TAṢANĪF (also called **NAṢĪḤAT NĀMA**)
of Imām al-Ghazzālī, edited with an Introduction and
Translation in Urdū by Prof. B. D. Varma, M.A., M.F.,
A.F., Professor of Persian, Fergusson College, Poona,
1934, pp. 1-14, 1-98 and two maps.

Professor Varma has prepared the text of the work under review from the Two manuscripts, one from the private library of the Chief of Aundh and the other from the Punjab University Library, Lahore. The first mentioned copy was brought to his notice by the late Principal Balkrishna of the Rajaram College, Kolhapur. After the discovery of this manuscript Professor Varma carried out a diligent search for other Mss. not only in India but also in Europe (through correspondence) and ultimately succeeded in finding out another copy in the Punjab University Library, Lahore.

The work consists of Ghazzālī's counsels offered to a favourite disciple who had made a special request for the same, and as such, deserves careful study.

The learned Professor has tried in the introduction to tackle the problem of the authenticity of the work, and has adduced internal as well as external evidence in support of his conclusion. He has also tried to help the reader by giving useful notes and two maps, which indicate the state of the Islamic world during the time of al-Ghazzālī.

It is a pity that Professor Varma could not print the work in movable type, and had to transcribe a major portion of the work himself, as no good scribe was to be found in Poona.

In view of the simple and unambiguous style of the work and its valuable contents, it would deserve, in my opinion, to be prescribed as a text for the First year in Arts examination of this and other universities. I congratulate Professor Varma for his excellent work, and request him to utilise the movable type if and when the second edition is to be prepared.

Shaikh Chānd Husain

VASANTAVILĀSA : An old Gujarati Phāgu, edited with a
Critical Introduction and Notes by K. B. Vyas, M.A.,
published by N. M. Tripathi & Co., Bombay 2; 1942.

Vasantavilāsa is a small lovely poem of about 84 stanzas in the Dohā metre, composed in the Old Gujarati language which still bears ample traces of the influence of the Apabhramśa language, by an unknown author towards the close of the 14th century A. D. It is a sort of a Love Lyric describing the state of a young maiden both before and after her meeting with her lover, at a sylvan spot where King Cupid had established his rule. It belongs to a class of poems which has received the nickname Phāgu, probably owing to its connection with the vernal month of Phālguna.

Prof. K. B. Vyas of the Elphinstone College has edited the poem with a learned introduction in which all important points connected with the poem, such as its language, metre, form, date and authorship are ably discussed in detail. The English notes at the end are equally learned and disclose a close acquaintance of the editor with Prākṛta grammar and philology. As regards the text of the poem however, Prof. Vyas has made no attempt to give us a critical edition of it, but has merely given a faithful reproduction of one of his Mss., which he considers to be the most reliable. This is a little unjustifiable, but he has given his reasons for this at p. XVIII (cf. also Appendix IV, pp. 73-74). On the other hand, it is to be remembered that for preparing a critical edition of a text, i. e., for arriving at the original form of the text which the author himself had written, it is not merely the manuscripts that can be used as evidence. They are only a part of it and constitute the *external evidence* together with the manuscripts or editions of commentaries of that text as also the quotations from it found in other literary works and the like. But more important than this is the *internal evidence* which, is supplied by its language, metre and other peculiarities like Yamaka etc., especially in the case of a metrical composition, like the Vasantavilāsa. The poet must be generally assumed to

have known his metre very well and to have been generally careful about what he introduces as special features of his composition. It is of course not impossible that he may have been guilty of negligence in this respect here and there; but this can be assumed only as a last resort and that too when there exists an overwhelming evidence proving such a negligence. And when we look at the *Vasantavilāsa* from this point of view, three special features of it stand out prominently before us and they are:— (1) The Dohā metre of the poem; (2) the Antar-Yamaka according to which the last three letters of the odd lines rhyme with the first three letters of the even ones; and (3) the Antya Yamaka according to which the two halves of the stanzas rhyme with each other. We shall attempt to show how each of these three is helpful in making a selection of a reading for the reconstructed text and it will be seen how this selection is supported even by the *external evidence* of manuscripts.

The normal stanza of the Dohā metre contains 15 Mātrās in the odd and 11 Mātrās in the even lines (or, sometimes, 14 in the odd and 12 in the even lines when the last letter in a line is considered always long). In our poem, sometimes the odd lines contain only 11 Mātrās (cf. vv. 4c; 55c; 84c; also cf. 15c and 65c.), but here the last letter which should have appeared at the end of the odd lines, is tacked on to the following even line as a sort of variation. But this is very rare and as a rule our author is rather scrupulous about his metre. For this reason, it is better to read a short *i* in place of the long one which is sanctioned by the Mss. in the following words:— *puhatiya* (v. 2a); *taṇiya* (2b); *panthiya* (5d); *kāmiya* (6d); *jāliya* (9b); *jhāriya* (10b), *nāriya* (12b); *bāliya coliya* (28b; 38b); *vihasiya naviya nūvāliya bāliya* (89cd) etc. Those who sing the Dohā can easily see how in spite of the Mss., we must sing all these *ikāras* as short and not as long ones; and we have to assume that the scribes of early vernacular poems were unscrupulous in the correct representation of Hrasva and Dirgha letters. So far as Marāṭhi is concerned this distinction is totally neglected in the Modī script which does not use the short *ikāra* at all.

Coming next to the Antar-Yamaka, we find that though the author generally sticks to it, he enjoys a little freedom in the

following cases: *samarati-havaritu* (v. 2); *muṇanti-vasanti* (3); *gahagahyū-mahamahyū* (4); *kāmani-kāmini* ; *mānani-mānini* (22); *kāraṇa-tūruṇa* (24); *virahiya-hiai sa* (33); *bhārumū-sayuri* (40); *ālāsa-ālasiya* (54); *prakaṭiya-bhṛkūṭiya* (58); *tūm dhari-mū sira;* *a dahū-ava hū* (77); *guṇa karai-agaru ji* ; *varāsai-vāsa vi* (79) and *guṇavanā-vasanā* (84). In the following cases, a slight variation is introduced by the introduction of *re* in between the rhyming letters :— vv. 17 : 19 ; 49 ; 56 ; 57 ; 62 ; 66 ; 69 ; 76. But in general, I think we should accept the reading from the Ms. B, when it is supported by the Antar-Yamaka ; thus we should read *dhāṇi* (v.1) ; *vesa racai* (11) ; *dakṣaṇa* (13) ; *jalasai* (14) ; *moha racau* (24) ; *ūdampati* (27) ; *candana* (40) ; *pūṣala-śūṣṭā* (43) ; *ceta nahi* (45) ; *haraṣiya* (50) ; *tī sukha* (52) ; *ketaki* (53) ; *sarovari* (67, see ms. C) ; *upāmbha* (70) ; *kisyā mara* (81). It will be seen that most of these are supported by the Ms. C also.

The Antya Yamaka on the other hand, seems to be more scrupulously observed by our author. According to the authority of the Mss. that are now before us, he seems to have neglected this only in three cases i.e., vv. 53, 55 and 63. Here the readings *bhāra*, *bhāla* and *mānjīthi* which are demanded by the Antya Yamaka are neither supported by Mss., nor by sense, so far as I can see at this stage. But in the following cases, the readings in B are clearly supported by the Antya Yamaka and also in most cases, by the Ms. C :— *avatāra* (v. 3) ; *māna* (7) ; *viśrūma* (9) ; *surāṅgu* (16) ; *māna* (27) ; *vāna* (31 see C) ; *bhaṅgu* (38) ; *pāpu* (42) ; *vaira* (43) ; *lahesa* (48) ; *nāhi* (56) ; *caṅgu* or *anaṅga* (60) ; *samsāra* (61) ; *jāla* (62) ; *upamāna* (64) ; *jali eki* (64) ; *aṅgu* (71) and *bheu* (81). It will be seen that in many cases, it is a question of selecting one of the two optional forms used for the Nom. and Accu. singular by our author in strict conformity with the practice of the Apabhramśa grammar in the matter of nouns ending in *a*. We will therefore not be wrong in supposing that the poet must have used that one of the two forms which was more suitable for his purpose, namely the Yamaka.

In the matter of interpretation, we proceed to make a few suggestions, without in any way detracting from the learned labours of the editor. Thus in v. 3, *muhariyā* is rather *mukharitāh* 'humming' than 'are happy with; enjoy'. In v. 4, *pikāra* is

one word and CD is one sentence:—‘The endless notes of the cuckoos proclaim victory (of Vasanta) to the three worlds’. In v. 5, *bahakai* is intransitive and means ‘spreads far and wide’; *padaminiparimala* is one word and the subject of it. Cf. Marathi *bahakalā* or *bhakalā* ‘has gone astray’. CD:—‘The travellers rush here and there impatiently (on the road), where Madana himself is acting as a highwayman’. *jihām* ‘where’; cf. *tihām* in v. 11. In v. 6, *vāulā* is *vāu-ḍā(lā)*; cf. *bhamarulā* (v. 20). In the second half, read with C, *nidhuvanakelikālāmiya* = *nidhuvanakeliklānta* ‘fatigued by the amorous sports’; *suhāi* is *sukhāyate* ‘is felt agreeable’ and not *śobhate*. In v. 9, read *jāla* with B and C and take *pūrihi* as *pūryate* (cf. *pūriya* of C); ‘Water is filled with abundance of musk and camphor’. In v. 10, *sajakāriya*, *jñāriya*, *sūndhiya* and *bāndhiya* are best taken as Past Passive Participles used as finite verbs. If taken as Absolutive forms, v. 10 must be construed with v. 11. In v. 11 *Jāmuka* is perhaps a ‘watchman’; but the regular form would be *jāmika*. Has it changed under the influence of *kāmuka*? *alavesara* is another difficulty. I think it is right to connect this with *alabelā* which is probably the same as *alavilla* ‘possessed of *alavas*’. *alavelā* is ‘gay’ or ‘coquettish’ and *alava* is very likely ‘coquetry’. The word occurs again in v. 69 *alavihi* and means ‘with *alavas* i. e., with coquetry’. Cf. Marathi *nakharā*. V. 14: *aliala* cannot be *alikulā*; *ala* is probably *svārthe*. See v. 72 (*tūm aliala*). *āna* is *anya*. A correspondence is meant between the *yuvāna* and the *aliala*. V. 28 is spurious. It properly would belong to v. 31ff; while 27, 29 and 30 belong together. Besides v. 28cd is a reproduction of v. 38^{ab}. Ms. C rightly omits this. V. 30: *kavāra* is ‘partisanship’, hence ‘praise’. *bandiṇa* cannot mean ‘panegyric’. It is either Nom. Plural or gen. sing. CD: ‘They are as it were (kiri) the bards of Madana continuously singing praise to him’. In the reading of C, *ānandiṇa* is Instru. of *ānanda* and not = *ānaadana* (adj.). V. 31: In *sourana*, *r* is not adventitious (cf. Intro. p. LXX), but occurs as a result of Transposition. V. 33: In the latter half, supply *saranikara* from v. 32 after *dhūmavarāla*: ‘The God of Love (Māru) is as it were dropping (*mūkai*) smoking arrows on the hearts of the separated’. Cf. *mūkai sara sukumāla* (v. 20). V. 38: *ṛṇatolai* is *ṛṇatulayā*; *tolai* cannot be *tolita*. D: ‘She began

to speak in various ways (*bahu bhaṅga*)'. Not 'in a curious vein'. The *bahu bhaṅgu* address is contained in vv. 39-46, which are respectively addressed to Kokila, Sayari, Māi, Nisākara, Bhamarulā and Cāndulā, Bahinūā and Sakhi. V. 39: *syūm bahu vāsa* 'Why do you warble so much?' is correct; *vāsa* is a free verbal form having the sense of the present tense. How can Imperative 2nd sing. be construed with the Interrogative particle? In v. 42 similarly *santāpu* is clearly a noun as the term. *u* shows; it cannot be a verbal form by any stretch of philological imagination. Besides why 2nd Plural when *tuya*, *re* and *māri* are Singular forms in the same verse? *śyū kara* is similar to *syūm vāsa* (v. 39) in construction. It means 'why do you cause me *santāpu*'? *sayari*: (cf. *sayara* in v. 43 and 40). Is it *svairam* 'wilfully'? *hiva* is rather a particle; cf. v. 46. Perhaps *śmiki bhyā* of B and C is correct: *bhyā* is *bhayā* 'has become'. Cf. *thyā* equal to *thayā*:— 'Doubting that sin is committed, do not kill a woman, oh Stained One'. V. 43: *pāṁkhali* is a 'tiny wing':— 'Oh bee, do not drop i. e., move your tiny wing; we cannot enjoy it. For everything has become painful to us'. *tām* is *trayā* or *tāvat*; cf. v. 46. In v. 46 *bihuṁ* is Nom. 'the couple'. The throbbing of the thigh suggests union. For *jām ghaḍi-tām ghaḍi*; cf. v. 68. V. 49 'To me your beak is (as if) made of gold and both wings are made of silver, (though they are black)': not 'I shall get your beak etc.' Adjective *nirupama* suggests what it is and not what it is going to be. V. 52 *tīm sukha Kahana na jāi* 'Those pleasures cannot be mentioned'; *nai* is a particle of emphasis. See v. 81, and Dictionary. *anai* is different. V. 54: *lāvanīsayarīsu rāsu* or *raṅgu* is *lāvaṇyasadrśam rūsam* or *raṅgam*: 'A dance in keeping with her Loveliness'. *sayarīsu* cannot mean 'with lady friends'; *su* is not *saha*. V. 55 *kāna* is better taken as Nom. 'the ears are as it were the flashes of lightning'. *vījanaūm* is genitive=*vījanūm* like *bījanaūm*=*bījanūm*. *ki* means 'as if'; cf. vv. 29, 33, 36, 58, 59, 60, 61, 65, etc. In v. 60, the idea of *ratha* is prominent and not of *anaṅga*; so rather take *ratha* as Nom. and *anaṅga* as Geni. with termination dropped. 'The face is as if the chariot of Cupid moving about (for world-conquest) and the earrings appear as if they are the wheels used for it'. V. 61. Rather *guṇa hiyavara taṇu hāra*: 'the delicate necklace on her bosom is as if

the string'. The string is *varṇya* and *taṇu* would be a proper adjective for the *hāra* which corresponds to it. *varatanu* would be *apustārtha*. V. 68. What is *lāṅku*? Evidently 'waist'; derivation? V. 69. *alavihi* is Instrumental; *alava* is 'coquetry'; see on v. 11 above. V. 71: *murukulai* is 'plays coquettish'; Compare *murukane* or *murakā mārane* in Marathi. V. 74: *sampati* is 'the wealth of her charms'; 'She has become *tanumāla* or *sukumāla* without her wealth of charms.' V. 81 *nai* is a particle; see on v. 52. Read *bheu* for *nehu* 'there is no (na vi) difference between them'. *kisyām mara* is to be taken like *syūm vāsa* (v. 39) and *syūm kara* (v. 42) above. This idiom is still preserved in Marathi 'hem kara tem kara; kaśālā kara'; I suppose also in Gujarati. V. 82 'Like a Padmini woman, the lotus-plant has become over-bearing (*mātiya*) owing to her honey; the bee with fresh love (*navanehu* as one word) receives her juice in time, but abandons her and makes no mistake about it. See'. *dehu* is *dehau* (3rd sing Imperative) or *dēha* (2nd sing) = देह. V. 83. what is *bulā*? *valia* not likely; perhaps *buḍia*, *bulia* i. e. = *magna*; or is it *bholā* (*bulā*) 'simpleton'? In the second half why is the Karuṇī tree compared with a Taruṇī who is laden with fruit owing to her breasts? Are the flowers compared with breasts, which in their turn with fruits? Or, does the 2nd half, addressed to the lover, mean, 'This young maiden is laden with fruit by her breasts; why then do you make love to that poor woman i. e., an elderly woman? V. 84: *muñjavayana* = *Mañjuvacana*? It is rather *mūjha vacana* 'My words i. e. the poem has come to an end here (इति ऋ)'.

These suggestions, however, are not intended to suggest any want of labour or ability on the part of the editor, who has evidently taken all possible care in handling his difficult text. Besides, the introduction bears ample evidence of the thoroughness with which he discusses the intricate problems connected with the poem. His observations on the calligraphy and orthography of the Mss. of the poem as also on its phonology and morphology are very instructive (the differentiation of the ञ-stems and the ऋ-stems of nouns on p. LXXI is evidently an over-sight as a reference to p. XXX para 2 will show). On the whole the performance is highly creditable.

H. D. Velankar

1. TIBETAN WORD BOOK, 2. TIBETAN SYLLABLES,
3. TIBETAN SENTENCES by Sir Basil Gould, C.M.G.,
C.I.E., Indian Civil Service, and Hugh Edward Richardson,
Indian Civil Service.

These books have been published by the Oxford University Press, (1943 May) and printed in India. The latter two have been printed in Sikkim Durbar Press, Gangtok, Sikkim, India : and on the Titaghur Mill paper. These books will be found very helpful by the Beginners of Tibetan studies, especially of Colloquial Tibetan. Sir Aurel Stein has written a Foreword from Camp Bhawalpur (1st Jan. 1943) in which he testifies to the helpfulness of these books for those who do not know Tibetan. It has been said in the General Preface (p. ix) that the object of this Series of books and pamphlets is to help ordinary people to learn to speak Tibetan as it is spoken to-day in Lhasa (the Place of God). About 2000 Key Syllables are arranged in Tibetan alphabetical Order in the first book together with pronunciation and meaning and compound words formed from them are also given in the following lines. The second book arranges the same syllables in the English alphabetical order. The third book introduces sentences of colloquial use, giving them in Tibetan script with English pronunciation.

The authors, Sir Basil, Political Officer in Sikkim and British Political Representative in Tibet and Bhutan, and Mr. Richardson, formerly British Trade Agent at Gyantse, Tibet, and in charge of the British Mission at Lhasa, both members of the Indian Civil Service, have indeed taken great pains to bring out these books, which are expected to be followed by other helpful books of the same nature. They, indeed, deserve our warmest thanks.

P. V. Bapat

TILOYAPANNATTI, by Jadivasaba, Part I edited by Profs.

A. N. Upadhye and Hiralal Jain, with the Hindi paraphrase ; published by Jain Sanskrit Samrakshaka Samgha, Sholapur, 1943, Price 12/-

This is the first volume of the Jivarāja Jain Granthamālā, which has been very lucky in obtaining the two professors as the general editors of the Series. The work is an ancient Prakrit text, dealing mainly with Jain cosmography, as the very title of the work suggests. Incidentally the author has found occasions to introduce other items of Jain dogmatics, without which the understanding of the cosmography is not easy.

Looked from the orthodox point of view, no religion has preserved such a minute, detailed and extensive descriptions of the cosmography, as the Jains have done. It is a debatable point—and we are glad that the editors are also conscious of the fact—how far these are trustworthy or for the matter of that, even valuable for us. But the use of such works is not to be judged from this single point of view. Works of such type have incidentally preserved much material on language, social history, folklore and contemporary history ; hence we are grateful to the editors for having brought out the first volume of this extensive work (the 1st vol. contains only the first four chapters, the second is to contain the next 5 chapters).

The two Mss on which the editors have based the edition are extremely corrupt and their editing and paraphrasing has been a very difficult task for them ; but judged from the presentation of the work and the number of stanzas, which are even unintelligible to the editors (and which the editors have frankly admitted at the end) we think that they have practically achieved the impossible. Only one point we should like to point out ; we cannot easily see eye to eye with the editors when they give freely their emendations in the text itself and relegate the readings of the Ms in the foot-notes. This is a highly

objectionable practice and although the editors have tried to take wind out of the sails of the critic by freely admitting and justifying their course, we are not much convinced thereby. It would have been a good procedure to correct and emend the original in brackets introduced in the body of the text itself.

We would be eagerly waiting for the publication of the second volume, to which the editors are going to prefix their introduction.

R. D. Vadekar

DECCAN COLLEGE POSTGRADUATE AND RESEARCH
INSTITUTE, CALENDER FOR FIFTH SESSION
(1943-44), 1943. Price Re. One

The Institute has issued its Calendar for Fifth Session (1943-44), with a foreword written by Mr. B. J. Wadia, the Vice-chancellor of the University of Bombay. It is divided into four sections: the first contains general information concerning the Institute; the second gives a consolidated Report of the Academic Work of the Institute for the four sessions ending March 1943; the third deals with the special features of Research work for the fifth session; and, finally, the fourth furnishes details in regard to the Rules and Regulations of the Institute.

Since the date of its inauguration the Institute has done commendable progress in the field of research. Not to refer to the important work achieved in the past, the whole staff of the College headed by the Director Dr. S. M. Katre, has put in very valuable work during the current year. Especially the following new projects undertaken by them are of immense importance: A Dictionary of Inscriptional Sanskrit, Dialect Geography, a new Dictionary of R̥gveda, Archaeology of the Deccan, Deccan School of Painting, A History of the Marāṭhā Navy, Anthropometric measurements of Marāṭhās, and others. All these projects, when carried into perfection, shall bring immense credit to the Institute in near future.

A. P. K.

श्रीदेवबोधकृतमहाभारततात्पर्यटीका ज्ञानदीपिका (आदिपर्व) :

[Edited by R. N. Dandekar, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, pp. iv+107, Price Rupees four]

The commentary of Devabodha is of prime importance for Mbh. studies as it is the oldest and the best comm. on the Epic. Unfortunately it is known to be available only for a few parvans viz. the Sabhā, Udyogya, Bhīṣma and Droṇa besides the Ādi, and that too, only in manuscript form. The better known commentary of Nilakantha which standardized the vulgate text and is responsible in some measure for contamination of different versions of the Epic from one another, has practically eclipsed older commentaries, as a bad coin drives the good out of circulation. We should be therefore grateful to Dr. Dandekar for the editing and publication of this commentary of Devabodha,— a real need which he has supplied very efficiently. The numbering of adhyāyas and stanzas are according to the Critical Edition, which adds to its utility, as the commentary itself does not give these, having merely a few colophons. The Mss. here do not contain the Epic text as also in the case of Udyoga, but we may not reckon it a loss, as the Mss. of Sabhā which do have the text show no relationship between the text and the comm.

About the date and personality of Devabodha we are in the dark, except his priority to later commentators who extensively plagiarize from his work. Devabodha is not the personal name of the author, but his name qua *śaṁnyāsi*, as appears from his *guru's* name which also ends in *bodha*. He must have been a pontiff of some *mutt* as the title *Bhaṭṭāraka* in both his and his *guru's* names show, and we may sometime learn more about him if succession lists in the archives of these *mutts*, especially from Kashmir become available. It may be presumed that he belonged to Kashmir as his comm. presents essentially a Kashmirian text of the Epic. He seems to refer to the Kashmirian doctrine of *pratyabhijñā*, commenting on I. 1. 37 (p. 7). Devabodha generally does not name the sources of his explanations ; and therefore the

additional matter marginally inserted in Ms. C, though it contains references to the lexicon *Anekārtha*, an author *Śrī-Bhoja*, *Kaṇṭhālankāra* *vidah*, *Parāśarasaihitā*, *Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa*, *Amara* etc., these are useless for fixing his date as they are clearly not genuine. However, this question may safely be left for consideration by scholars like, Prof. P. K. Gode, working in the field of Indian chronology.

It is interesting that Devabodha pointedly refers to the number of many un-Pāṇinian forms in the Epic, and he seeks to justify them on the authority of Mahendra's grammar (p. 2). He has given us figures for the number of adhyāyas and Ślokas for each parvan (p. 16f.), which come very near to those of the Crit. Ed. He seems to know two recensions of the Harivaṃśa, viz. the Māthura and the Pārijāta. The latter narrates according to Devabodha, the divine incarnations in an expanded form and may therefore have been the basis of the vulgate text of Hari.

In his comm. on 1. 1. 50, मन्वादि भारतं केचित् etc., where three commencements of the Epic are recorded, Devabodha understands by मनु a king (आदिराजः); and not a *mantra* as Nil. does, and which is also the common supposition. This interpretation is plausible as it is in keeping with the other two proper names Āstika and Uparicara. These latter two commencements of the Epic can be located, but we do not get any trace of its beginning with an account of king Manu. This must be due to the shuffling of text caused in the final diaskeuasis, when the frame-setting and list of contents (Parvasaṃgraha) were appended to the Epic.

These remarks may indicate the great importance of the comm. for a critical exegesis of the Epic not only from the interpretative but also from a formal point of view. It is to be hoped that the remaining portion of the comm. on other parvans, also will be soon made available to the public which will be an invaluable aid in Epic studies.

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OBITUARY NOTICES

PRIN. VINAYAK GANESH APTE

(1866 - 1943)

It is painful to record the sad death of Prin. Vinayak Ganesh Apte on 21st October 1943.

Prin. Apte was a resident of Poona. He passed his Matriculation examination from the New English School, Poona and took his B. A. degree in the Second Class with Languages as his optional subjects. He was profoundly impressed by his revered teacher Vaman Shivaram Apte the great Sanskrit scholar of the last century and the first Principal of the Fergusson College, Poona. In 1895 he took his pledge as a Life-Member of the Shikshana Prasarak Mandal. It is well known to the Poona literary public how efficiently and honourably he carried out that solemn pledge. He served the Nutun Marathi Vidyalaya of the Mandal in the capacity of the Superintendent for 21 years. He won the admiration of the public by his solicitude to turn out his students to be good citizens in their after-life. He never allowed his domestic calamities, which befell him so often, to interfere with his task. The motto of the Mandal, 'निर्वाहः प्रतिपन्नवस्तु' seems to have its origin in Prin. Apte's selfless zeal towards the cause of the Mandal. The Mandal started its New Poona College (now S. P. College) in 1916 of which Prin. Apte was unanimously appointed the first Principal. He retired from that office, in 1922. In appreciation of his devoted services, the Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume of the S. P. College was dedicated to him in 1941.

He occupied the responsible post of the Trustee of the Anandashram of Poona for many years and edited several Sanskrit works in Anandashram Sanskrit Series.

He served on the Executive Board of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, as its Chairman for 15 years (1924-39). He guided the affairs of the Institute ably and thus laid the Institute under deep obligations. He also worked on the Mahabharata Working Committee that was formed to carry on the Mahabharata work prior to the appointment of Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, as the Chief Editor in 1925.

In Prin. Apte the Institute as well as the literary public has lost a selfless and devoted worker. May his soul rest in peace.

G. N. S.

SHRIMANT NARAYANRAO BABASAHEB GHORPADE,

Chief Saheb of Ichalkaranji

(1872 - 1943)

In the sad demise of Shrimant Narayanrao Babasaheb Ghorpade, the enlightened Chief Saheb of Ichalkaranji, on 21st October 1943 the B. O. R. Institute has lost one of its staunch supporters, the Maharashtra has lost a great patron of learning, art and culture and the country has lost one of its noblest sons. There was no educational or cultural activity in Maharashtra during the last half a century which has not profited by his generosity directly or indirectly. The springs of his liberality were not actuated by any thirst for personal fame or aggrandizement but by a spirit of renunciation and sense of duty, the most dominant motive force behind every thing that he said and did for the amelioration of his countrymen in social, educational and intellectual spheres. His religious temperament, spirit of humility, spotless character coupled with dignity of manners and an affable disposition endeared him to every one who came into contact with him in all the walks of life both in the principality over which he ruled and outside it. The sentiments of good will and affection engendered by this noble soul were markedly in evidence when the Golden Jubilee of his rule was celebrated at Ichalkaranji a year ago. The Special Volume published in commemoration of this unique event is a permanent souvenir of the good work done by Shrimant Babasaheb for the betterment of his fellowmen in and outside his principality.

Though not a research scholar himself Shrimant Babasaheb was a well-read man and maintained his interest in literary matters to the moment of his death. The writer of this note came into direct contact with him more than twenty years ago. This contact deepened during the last ten years owing to the exchange of views with Shrimant Babasaheb on many matters of mutual interest pertaining to the researches of the writer in the field of Maratha history and the history of Indian Culture. Several letters in the possession of the writer received from Shrimant

Babasaheb show not only a careful perusal of the writer's articles on these subjects but his genuine appreciation of all new points discovered by the writer and recorded in these articles. Some of the observations made by Shrimant Babasaheb on these points have been found to be very critical and valuable for purposes of further research. It was only on 3rd October 1943 that Shrimant Babasaheb sent to the writer his last literary letter from Wai and it is a pity that Shrimant Babasaheb should pass away in a fortnight after this date! Shrimant Babasaheb had sent an article to the Editor of the Annals some days before his death. It is published in the present issue of the Annals. There are a few enlightened rulers in the Bhāratavarṇa at present but fewer still are rulers who take live interest in research and Shrimant Babasaheb of revered memory was one of this latter class. May his soul rest in peace.

P. K. Gode

MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA

PROF. S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI

(1880 - 1943)

In the passing away of Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri on the 5th of September 1943, Sanskrit learning has lost one of its best supporters and the world of oriental learning has lost a brilliant scholar who influenced both his juniors and seniors alike by the depth of his learning and scholarly achievements. Prof. Sastri began his academic career as the Principal of the Sanskrit College, Mylapore, Madras, as early as 1906. In 1910 he became the Principal of Rajah's Sanskrit College, Tiruwadi. He was appointed Professor of Sanskrit in the Presidency College, Madras in 1914 and continued in this post for over twenty-one years till his retirement in December 1935. As Curator of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library at Madras during the above period he was responsible for the continuance of the valuable *Descriptive Catalogue* of Government manuscripts in

several volumes and the publication of a few books on behalf of this library. The title of Mahamahopādhyāya was conferred on him by Government in 1927. After his retirement from the Indian Educational Service he served as Professor of Sanskrit in the Annamalai University for a few years and then retired to his village.

He was a prominent member of the All India Oriental Conference ever since its inception at the B. O. R. Institute in 1919. He was also closely connected with the Indian Philosophical Congress and presided over different sections of this Congress as also of the Oriental Conference at various sessions. In 1921 he started the *Journal of Oriental Research* Madras and the 'Sanskrit Academy', Madras.

Prof. Sastri rendered yeoman's service to the cause of Sanskrit research in this country by instituting a regular search for new Manuscripts throughout the Madras Presidency and the large number of rare Manuscripts thus collected were catalogued by him in several volumes designated as *Triennial Catalogues*. It redounds to the credit of Prof. Shastri that during his Curatorship of the above library nearly sixty Volumes of this Manuscripts Catalogue both *Descriptive* and *Triennial* were prepared and published. Besides these Catalogues Prof. Sastri published several Sanskrit texts and a *Primer of Indian Logic* (1932).

Prof. Sastri was connected with many Universities in India, besides the Madras University itself, where he was a member of the senate, a member of the Academic Council and Chairman of the Board of Studies for different periods. His contact with the Madras University has fostered in no small way the cause of oriental learning. In 1935 the Madras University undertook under his editorship the preparation of a *New Catalogue Catalogorum of Manuscripts* and though Providence has not spared him to see the completion of this monumental undertaking, his wisdom and foresight in starting this work will be ever remembered by the succeeding generations of Oriental scholars in the same manner in which they remember the immortal work of Theodor Aufrecht enshrined in his *Catalogue Catalogorum* which was the marvel of cataloguing in his own days and which remains still

unmatched in point of accuracy of record, not to say the wideness of its range and the meticulous care for details.

Prof. Sastri was a versatile scholar and a preeminent teacher. The impress of his scholarship on his students has been very great as will be seen from a band of brilliant scholars at the Madras University who had the good fortune of studying under him and who like their eminent guru have made good reputation in the field of Sanskrit learning. A master of Shastric debates, Prof. Sastri was a master in the debates of his University as we learn from some of his contemporaries. In 1936, the Bhandarkar Institute invited Prof. Sastri to deliver the anniversary address and at the time of the Silver Jubilee of the Institute last year the Institute honoured him by conferring its Honorary Membership on him along with some eminent scholars of the land in token of its high regard for Prof. Sastri's scholarship and learning. We understand that a movement is set afoot for continuing and perpetuating the work of this eminent scholar by establishing a Research Institute in his name and trust that it will be started before long.

To many of the Professors of Sanskrit in this country. Indian philosophy and religion are only matters of academic interest. It was not so to Prof. Sastri, strongly steeped in Advaita Philosophy, and consequently he maintained the Advaita outlook on the affairs of the world even at the cost of popularity. He knew no philosophy of compromise on principles which he believed to be right and true. This, I believe was the master-key of his impressive personality. It is a pity that such a devout Advaitin should take our final leave before he reached the venerable age of three score and ten.

P. K. Gode

GEHEIMRAT PROFESSOR

DR. HEINRICH LÜDERS

(1869-1943)

Death has taken rather a heavy toll of Indologists in recent times. News has reached us of late that the *doyen* of the present generation of German Indologists, Professor Dr. Heinrich Lüders, has passed away. The very valuable contributions made by Lüders to almost all branches of Indic studies, particularly to Indian drama and epigraphy, will for ever stand out as evidence of the critical acumen, the amazing industry and the remarkable insight of that great Sanskritist. At the beginning of this war, it was announced that all his scattered writings, which are quite numerous, were being collected and published in several volumes. These volumes will undoubtedly prove to be a great boon to students of Indology. The relations of Lüders with the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute however were of a more intimate character. Professor Lüders was the teacher of the late Dr. Sukthankar, the first General Editor of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata. As a matter of fact the latter's main inspiration in the matter of the text-critical study of the Epic was derived from the former. In the Prolegomena of the *Adi-Parvan*, Dr. Sukthankar has paid a glowing tribute to Lüders in the following words :

" What little merit there may be in the present work is due wholly to that excellent though somewhat rigorous and exacting training in philological methods which I had the benefit of receiving at his (Lüders's) hands in the Indogermanisches Seminar, as a student in the University of Berlin. It is my firm conviction that there is no living scholar who has a deeper insight into the history of the Indian epic and the complications of its tradition than Geheimrat Lüders.His early Mahābhārata studies, *Ueber die Grantharecension*, *Die Sage von Rāyāśringa* and the

Druckprobe have been to me like beacon lights in the perilous navigation of the Mahābhārata Ocean. May this work be to him a small recompense for the great trouble he has taken to initiate me in the mysteries of textual criticism. ”

Professor Lüders and Frau Lüders paid a visit to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in the year 1928. It was indeed very gratifying for the writer of this note to hear from Lüders himself, at Berlin in 1937, that the great expectations which his visit to this Institute had created in his mind ten years ago were substantially fulfilled by the published portion of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata. Prof. Lüders served on the Advisory Committee of the Critical Edition and was elected an Honorary Member of this Institute in 1928.

Professor Lüders all along enjoyed the privilege of having to work under him quite a distinguished band of students. It is indeed a painful irony that he should have died so soon after the premature death of his two eminent pupils, Drs. Sukthankar and Zimmer.

R. N. D.

We deeply mourn the recent loss through death of two more Sanskritists, Carlo Formichi (1871-1943) and Stanislaw Schayer (1899-1943). The Italian Indologist, Formichi, has several publications to his credit, the prominent among them being *Aśva-ghoṣa, poeta del Buddhismo* and *Il Nepal*. In 1925-26 he visited India and worked for some time as Guest-Professor at the Viśva-bhārati University, Śāntiniketan. Formichi was a profound student of Indian philosophy, which fact is amply borne out by his several articles on the subject, such as, “ On the real meaning of the Dialogue between Yājñavalkya and Maitreyi ” (Lanman Comm. Vol., 1929). Stanislaw Schayer was a Professor of Indian literature and philosophy at the University of Warsaw in Poland. One of his works of great merit, besides his excellent treatise on the Conception of Time, is *Indische Philosophie als Problem der Gegenwart*.

R. N. D.

FEDORE IPPOLITORICH STCHERBATSKY

News has now been allowed to escape after nearly two years, of the sad death of Prof. Stcherbatsky during the winter of 1941-42 when Leningrad passed through the deadly German siege heroically.

Prof. Stcherbatsky was born in 1866 in Poland at Keltse, where his father was a Government official, though his ancestral property was near St. Petersburg. After his school education, he joined the University of St. Petersburg where he attended lectures on philosophy and Indology by Minayeff and Oldenberg. From 1888, he studied in Vienna. He studied *Alamkāra* with Bühler and after the Inter-national Congress of Orientalists in Rome in 1899, he studied Indian philosophy with Jacobi at Bonn. He made a journey to Mongolia where the Buddhist Lamas greatly impressed him with their deep studies in Buddhist Logic and Buddhist Philosophy. He began to think of Dharmakīrti as an "Indian Kant". His *Theory of Knowledge and Logic* was published in Russian in 1903. Later, he began his Tibetan studies. He visited India in 1910-11, where he also read at the feet of Indian Pandits. In the Revolution of 1917, he lost his estate, but he with all courage bore it and went to Leningrad where he worked at the Academy of Sciences, for a number of years.

His giant figure with amiable temper attracted several friends, young and old, to the Asiatic Museum of the Academy which formed as it were a meeting-place for Oriental scholars. His name will remain associated with those of Radloff, Oldenberg, Stael Holstein, Rosenberg, while younger collaborators like Dr. Obermiller and Dr. Tubiansky were always proud to work in collaboration with him.

Prof. Stcherbatsky's books on *Buddhist Logic* (two vols. 1930-32) proved his acumen for understanding and unravelling subtleties of Indian Logic. Though he did not much avail himself of

the Pali sources for the study of Buddhist Philosophy, it may safely be said that he was considered as the greatest European exponent of Buddhist Sanskrit works on philosophy. His *Central Conception of Buddhism* (1923), and the masterly introduction to his *Conception of Nirvāṇa* (1927) have proved his ability to interpret to the West the Buddhist philosophy as expounded in Sanskrit books. His work on the Sanskrit text of the *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu as well as on *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* with Obermiller are other evidences on the point.

The death of Prof. Stcherbatsky has caused a void which will be difficult to be filled for years to come.

P. V. Bapat

SIR AUREL STEIN

News has recently reached us of the death of Sir Aurel Stein. Sir Aurel Stein was born at Budapest in 1862. After his education at Budapest and Dresden and in the Universities of Vienna and Tübingen, he went to England for further study. Then he went to India, as the Principal of the Oriental College, Lahore. He became the Registrar of the Punjab University in 1888. He was admitted to the Indian Education Service and after being the Principal of Calcutta Madrasah (1899-1901), he was made Inspector-General of Education of the North-West Frontier Province (1904). But his love of explorations attracted the attention of the Govt. of India for whom he carried on explorations in Chinese Turkestan or Central Asia in general, at various times (1900-01, 1906-08, and 1913-16). From 1910, he was the Superintendent of the Indian Archæological Survey, Frontier Circle, but was always on special duty carrying explorations on behalf of the Govt. of India. He was on such a work in Baluchistan in 1926-28. Later in 1932-36, he was also in Persia.

His discoveries of a mass of treasures including paintings, manuscripts etc. in Central Asia kept several European Scholars

busy deciphering the script and contents of those manuscripts which included several written in Buddhist Sanskrit, Prakrit, Tibetan, Chinese, Sogdian, Kutchian or Uigurish languages. His work on *Rājatarāṅgīnī*, the Chronicles of Kashmir, is well-known to Indian scholars. Other works incorporating the results of his explorations such as *Ancient Khotan* (1907), *Ruins of Desert Kathay* (1912), *Thousand Buddhas* (1921), *On Alexander's Track* (1929), *On Ancient Central Asian Tracks* (1933), *Archæological Reconnaissances* (1937) appeared from time to time. The five volumes of his wonderful *Ser-India* will alone be the fittest monument to Sir Aurel's genius and his contributions to our knowledge of Indian Culture outside the present limits of India will always be remembered with gratefulness by all students of Indian culture.

P. V. Bapat

As we go to press we have to perform the painful duty of reporting the sad demise of Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. R. Shamasastri, which occurred early this month. The discovery and the publication by him, in 1909, of the *Kautilīya Arthaśāstra* was undoubtedly one of the epoch-making events in the history of Indology. His English translation of the *Kautilīya Arthaśāstra* and his other studies dealing with that subject may properly be regarded as the pioneer work in the field of Ancient Indian Polity. He served as the Curator of the Government Oriental Library for a long time, during which period, that library published, under his able direction, quite a large number of excellent Sanskrit texts. Lately he had been taking keen interest in Vedic Studies, particularly in Vedic astronomy. In Dr. Shamasastri India has lost a veteran Sanskritist, whose devoted services to the cause of Indic studies will prove a great source of inspiration to the younger generation.

R. N. D.

We reproduce below an appeal published at Madras in connection with the Kuppuswami Sastri Memorial. The late Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri dedicated his whole life to the cause of Sanskrit learning and culture. It is needless to dilate upon the unforgettable contributions made by the late Professor to Sanskrit studies. Suffice it to say that his name will for ever prove a veritable source of inspiration to the future generations of students of Indology. In his presidential address at the last session of the All India Oriental Conference held at Benares, Rao Bahadur Dr. S. K. Belvalkar paid a glowing tribute to the services of the late Mahāmahopādhyāya and suggested that, in order to commemorate and continue his work, a Research Institute named after him should be started at Madras, on the model of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona. It is gratifying to note that the suggestion has appealed to Prof. Sastri's friends, admirers and pupils and that an influential committee, with the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri as President, has been formed to devise ways and means for the foundation of such an Institute. We heartily commend to all lovers of Sanskrit learning and culture the following appeal issued by the Committee.

—R. N. D.

THE KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI MEMORIAL

AN APPEAL

The immense services of the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri to the cause of Sanskrit learning and education are very well known. He was a profound scholar in all the Śāstras and a *litterateur* of rare excellence. He combined the depth of knowledge of the old style of learning with the width and critical outlook of the modern scholar in a remarkable measure. First as Principal of the Sanskrit Colleges in Mylapore and Trivadi, and then as Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the Presidency College, Madras, he played for many years the most decisive part in the designing and the working of the courses of study in Sanskrit, and Indian languages in general in the University of Madras. He started the Sanskrit Academy in 1926 in collaboration with Sri V. V. Srinivasa Ayyangar and others and the Journal of Oriental Research in 1927 with Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar as the President of the Executive Committee and

himself as the Chief Editor ; and as the Curator of Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, he organised an intensive campaign of manuscript collection and got together what is to-day one of the finest collections in the world, of which the province is rightly proud to be the owner. During the thirty years of his work as Professor, he trained a number of eminent panditas and young men in the critical methods of the study of Sanskrit works, and brought into being a school of research the members of which are now carrying on research work in the several institutions in and outside Madras. He planned the revision and amplification of Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Sanskrit Manuscripts and was Chief Editor of this work for some years. His work as member of the various academic bodies in the Universities of India and in the University of Madras in particular, was always characterised by a thoroughness and high academic perfection which earned for him the deepest respect of his colleagues.

The Public meetings held in the city and elsewhere when the news of his passing away was reported last September and the speeches that were delivered by many scholars and publicists on those occasions gave clear proof of the high esteem in which his work was held and the love and affection his personal qualities evoked.

At the last All India Oriental Conference he'll at Benares (December 31, 1943 and January 1 and 2, 1944), the President of the Conference, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, himself a great Sanskritist, made an eloquent appeal for starting a Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute at Madras on the model of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute at Poona, and the new Ganganath Jha Institute at Allahabad. Such an Institute would be a fitting memorial to the great Professor and it could take under its protecting wings the Samskrita Academy and the Journal of Oriental Research that were so dear to the Professor during his lifetime, undertake the publication of the unpublished works of the Professor and continue the useful work of research started by him.

Liberal contributions are solicited towards the realisation of this project which would require a lakh of Rupees as a minimum, and they may be kindly sent to Sri Rao Bahadur K. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, Advocate, 6 North Mada Street, Mylapore.

